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Marlborough, Sarah Jennings Churchill

An account of the conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough from her first coming to court to the year 1710 In a letter from herself to Mylord .
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London 1742

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Marlborough

Duchess

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONDUCT

OF THE

Dowager Duchess of MARLBOROUGH,

From her first coming to COURT,

To the Year 1710.

In a LETTER from Herself to MY LORD ——

LONDON:

Printed by JAMES BETTENHAM,

For GEORGE HAWKINS, at *Milton*'s *Head*,
between the two *Temple-Gates*.

MDCCXLII.

1742

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Printed for JAMES BETTENHAM,

FOR GEORGE HAWKINS, at Milton's Head,

LONDON:

PATERNOSTER-ROW, and HIGH-ST. to NEW BOND

To the Year 1742.

From the Firſt coming to COURT,

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

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COLLEGII C. L. VCCOÛNIL

A LETTER, &c.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been often told, that there is a ſort of philoſophy, by which people have brought themſelves to be indifferent, not only whether they be at all remembered after death, but whether in caſe *their names ſhould* ſurvive them, they be mentioned with praiſe or infamy. If this be really a point of wiſdom, it is infinitely beyond my reach; and I ſhall own further, that it ſeems to me too refined and ſublime to be attained by any body, who has not firſt got rid of the prejudices of common ſenſe and common honeſty. I will not pretend to ſay, that the paſſion for fame may not ſometimes be exceſſive, and defervedly the ſubject of ridicule. But ſurely, my lord,

there never was a ſingle inſtance of a perſon of true honour, who was willing to be ſpoken of, either during life or after it, as a betrayer of his country or his friend. And I am perſuaded your lordſhip muſt have obſerved, that all thoſe who, at this day, declare themſelves wholly careleſs about what the world, or the circle of their acquaintance will ſay of them, when they are dead, are quite as unconcerned to *deſerve* a good character, while they live.

For my own part, I frankly confeſs to your lordſhip and to the world, that whatever vanity or weakneſs the ambition of a good name may be thought, either by philoſophers or by miniſters of ſtate, to imply, I have ever felt ſome degree of that ambition, from the moment I could diſtinguiſh between good and evil. My chief aim (if I have any acquaintance with my own heart) has been both in publick and private life, to *deſerve* approbation; but I have never been without an earneſt deſire to *have* it too, both living and dead, from the wiſe and virtuous.

My lord, this paſſion has led me to take more pains, than you would eaſily imagine. It has ſometimes carried me beyond the ſphere, to which the men have thought proper, and perhaps, generally ſpeaking, with good reaſon, to confine our ſex. I have been a kind of author. About forty years ago, having underſtood that the wife of the late biſhop BURNET, a lady whom I greatly eſteemed, had received unfavourable impreſſions of me, on account of the unhappy differences between queen MARY and her ſiſter, I wrote a faithful narrative of that affair, purely to ſatisfy that one perſon.

And when, after my diſmiſſion from queen ANNE's ſervice, I perceived how induſtriouſly malice was employed, in inventing calumnies to load me with, I drew up an account of my conduct in the ſeveral offices I had filled under her MAJESTY. This piece I intended to publiſh immediately, but was diſſuaded from it by a perſon (of great eminence at this day) whom I thought my friend. I have ſince imagined, that he

had by inſtinct an averſion to *accounting*. It was ſaid, as a reaſon for deferring the publication of *my* account, that prejudice and paſſion were grown too violent and ſtormy for the voice of reaſon to be heard, but that thoſe would, after ſome time, ſubſide; and that the truth, *then* brought to light, would unavoidably prevail. I followed the advice with the leſs reluctance, as being conſcious of the power of an eaſy vindication whenever my patience ſhould be puſh'd to extremity.

After this I ſet myſelf another taſk, to which I was partly urged by the injuſtice, and, I may ſay, ingratitude of the whigs. It was to give an account of my conduct with regard to parties, and of the ſucceſsful artifice of Mr. HARLEY and Mrs. MASHAM, in taking advantage of the QUEEN's paſſion for what ſhe called *the Church*, to undermine me in her affections. In this undertaking I had the aſſiſtance of a friend, to whom I furniſhed materials. Some parts of the work were of my own compoſition, being ſuch paſſages as no body but myſelf

could relate with exactneſs. This was not originally intended to be publiſhed till after my death.

But, my lord, as I am now drawing near my end, and very ſoon there will remain nothing of me, but a *name*, I am grown deſirous, under the little capacity which age and infirmities have left me for other enjoyments, to have the ſatisfaction, before I die, of ſeeing that *name*, (which, from the ſtation I have held in the great world, muſt unavoidably ſurvive me) in *poſſeſſion* of what was only deſigned it for a *legacy*. From this deſire I have cauſed the ſeveral pieces above-mentioned to be connected together, and thrown into the form, in which I now take the liberty to addreſs them to your lordſhip. They may poſſibly be of ſome uſe towards correcting the folly and injuſtice of thoſe, who, in order to judge of the conduct of others, begin with forming to themſelves characters of them, upon ſlight and idle reports, and then make ſuch characters the rule, by which they admit or reject whatever they afterwards hear

concerning them. If any ſuch happy effect as this might reaſonably be hoped from the peruſal of theſe papers, I ſhould be far from making any apology for offering them to your lordſhip: I would not call it, *troubling* your lordſhip with them. No, my lord, you will not eſteem it a *trouble*, to read them, even though you ſhould judge them uſeleſs for the purpoſe I have mentioned. The friendſhip you favour me with, will make you find a particular ſatisfaction in this juſtification of my injured character to the world. And I imagine, that there is no honeſt mind, how much ſoever it may chance to be prejudiced againſt me, but will feel ſomething of the ſame pleaſure, in being undeceived.

The original letters, of which, either in whole or in part, the copies will be here found, I have directed to be preſerved in my family, as inconteſtable vouchers of the truth of what I am going to relate.

THE first time that *my favour with the princeſs* ANNE *of Denmark* became an object of public attention, was upon the quarrel between her ſiſter queen MARY, and her, which happen'd a few years after the Revolution. Here therefore your lordſhip might naturally expect that I ſhould begin my relation: But as I have been blamed for ſome memorable parts of the PRINCESS's conduct before that quarrel, it will be neceſſary to my preſent purpoſe to go back a little farther; and, perhaps, it may not be improper to ſay ſomething even of the birth and firſt growth of *that favour*, which has given occaſion to all the calumnies with which I have been aſperſed.

The beginning of the PRINCESS's kindneſs for me had a much earlier date than my entrance into her ſervice. My promotion to this honour was wholly owing to impreſſions ſhe had before received to my advantage; we had uſed to play together when ſhe was a child, and ſhe even then expreſſed a particular fondneſs for me. This inclination

clination encreaſed with our years. I was often at court, and the PRINCESS always diſtinguiſhed me by the pleaſure ſhe took to honour me, preferably to others, with her converſation and confidence. In all her parties for amuſement, I was ſure, by her choice, to be one; and ſo deſirous ſhe became of having me always near her, that, upon her marriage with the PRINCE of Denmark in 1683, it was, at her own earneſt requeſt to her father, I was made one of the ladies of her bed-chamber.

What conduced to render me the more agreeable to her in this ſtation was, doubtleſs, the diſlike ſhe had conceived to moſt of the other perſons about her; and particularly to her firſt lady of the bed-chamber, the counteſs of CLARENDON; a lady whoſe diſcourſe and manner (though the PRINCESS thought they agreed very well together) could not poſſibly recommend her to ſo young a miſtreſs: For ſhe looked like a mad-woman, and talked like a ſcholar. Indeed her HIGHNESS's court was throughout ſo oddly compoſed, that I think it

would

would be making myſelf no great compliment, if I ſhould ſay, her chuſing to ſpend more of her time with me, than with any of her other ſervants, did no diſcredit to her taſte. Be that as it will, it is certain ſhe at length diſtinguiſhed me by ſo high a place in her favour, as perhaps no perſon ever arrived at a higher with queen or princeſs. And, if from hence I may draw any glory, it is, that I both obtained and held this place without the aſſiſtance of flattery; a charm, which in truth her inclination for me, together with my unwearied application to ſerve and amuſe her, rendered *needleſs; but which*, had it been otherwiſe, my temper and turn of mind would never have ſuffered me to employ.

Young as I was, when I firſt became this high favourite, I laid it down for a maxim, that flattery was falſhood to my truſt, and ingratitude to my greateſt friend; and that I did not deſerve ſo much favour, if I could not venture the loſs of it by ſpeaking the truth, and by preferring the real intereſt of my miſtreſs before the pleaſing her fancy, or

the ſacrificing to her paſſion. From this rule I never ſwerved. And though my temper and my notions in moſt things were widely different from thoſe of the PRINCESS, yet during a long courſe of years, ſhe was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with me for openly ſpeaking my ſentiments, that ſhe ſometimes profeſſed a deſire, and even added her command, that it ſhould be always continued, promiſing never to be offended at it, but to love me the better for my frankneſs.

Favour with a princeſs upon theſe terms engaged me to her in the manner that it ought; I mean, by a ſentiment which I chuſe to call *honour*, rather than *gratitude* or *duty*, becauſe while it implies all the juſtice and affection of theſe, it ſeems to expreſs a more diſintereſted principle of action. For I can truly affirm, that I never conſidered myſelf on any occaſion where her intereſt or glory was concerned, nor had I any idea of a miſery which I would not have ſooner incurred, than the inward ſhame of being conſcious of a failure in this reſpect. The facts themſelves, which I am going to

relate,

relate, will in a great degree evince the truth of what I ſay; and that the PRINCESS was perfectly perſuaded of it, is, I think, ſufficiently manifeſt both from her letters to me, and from that unreſerved intimacy of friendſhip, in which we for many years lived together.

Kings and princes, for the moſt part, imagine they have a dignity peculiar to their birth and ſtation, which ought to raiſe them above all connexion of friendſhip with an inferior. Their paſſion is to be admired and feared, to have ſubjects awfully obedient, and ſervants blindly obſequious to *their pleaſure*. *Friendſhip* is an offenſive word; it imports a kind of equality between the parties; it ſuggeſts nothing to the mind of crowns or thrones, high titles, or immenſe revenues, fountains of honour, or fountains of riches; prerogatives which the poſſeſſors would have always uppermoſt in the thoughts of thoſe who are permitted to approach them.

The PRINCESS had a different taſte. A friend was what ſhe moſt coveted; and for

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the ſake of friendſhip (a relation which ſhe did not diſdain to have with me) ſhe was fond even of that *equality* which ſhe thought belonged to it. She grew uneaſy to be treated by me with the form and ceremony due to her rank; nor could ſhe bear from me the ſound of words which implied in them diſtance and ſuperiority. It was this turn of mind, which made her one day propoſe to me, that whenever I ſhould happen to be abſent from her, we might in all our letters write ourſelves by feigned names, ſuch as would import nothing of diſtinction of rank between us. MORLEY and FREEMAN were the names her fancy hit upon; and ſhe left me to chuſe by which of them I would be called. My frank, open temper naturally led me to pitch upon FREEMAN, and ſo the PRINCESS took the other; and from this time Mrs. MORLEY and Mrs. FREEMAN began to converſe as equals, made ſo by affection and friendſhip.

Soon after the deceaſe of king CHARLES the ſecond, lord CLARENDON was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to which country

his

his lady was to go with him. The PRINCESS received a ſenſible joy from this event; not only as it releaſed her from a perſon very diſagreeable to her, but as it gave her an opportunity of promoting me to be firſt lady of her bed-chamber; which ſhe immediately did, with a ſatisfaction to herſelf that was not to be concealed.

During her father's whole reign ſhe kept her court as private as ſhe could, conſiſtent with her ſtation. What were the deſigns of that unhappy PRINCE every body knows. They came ſoon to ſhew themſelves undiſguiſed, and attempts were made to draw his *daughter into them*. The KING indeed uſed no harſhneſs with her; he only diſcovered his wiſhes, by putting into her hands ſome books and papers, which he hoped might induce her to a change of religion; and had ſhe had any inclination that way, the chaplains about her were ſuch divines as could have ſaid but little in defence of their own religion, or to ſecure her againſt the pretences of popery, recommended to her by a father and a king.

Lord

Lord TYRCONNEL alſo, who had married my ſiſter, took ſome pains with me, to engage me, if poſſible, to make uſe, for the ſame end, of that great favour which he knew I enjoyed with the PRINCESS: but all his endeavours proved vain; and it was not long before all the danger blew over, the projects of that reign being effectually diſappointed, almoſt as ſoon as they were openly avowed.

Upon the landing of the PRINCE of Orange in 1688, the KING went down to Saliſbury to his army, and the PRINCE of Denmark with him; but the news quickly came from thence, that the PRINCE of Denmark had left the KING, and was gone over to the PRINCE of Orange, and that the KING was coming back to London. This put the PRINCESS into a great fright. She ſent for me, told me her diſtreſs, and declared, *That rather than ſee her father ſhe would jump out at window.* This was her very expreſſion.

A little before, a note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the biſhop of London, (who in that critical time abſconded)

abſconded) if her ROYAL HIGHNESS ſhould have occaſion for a friend. The PRINCESS, on this alarm, immediately ſent me to the biſhop. I acquainted him with her reſolution to leave the court, and to put herſelf under his care. It was hereupon agreed, that, when he had adviſed with his friends in the city, he ſhould come about midnight in a hackney coach to the neighbourhood of the Cockpit, in order to convey the PRINCESS to ſome place where ſhe might be private and ſafe.

The PRINCESS went to bed at the uſual time to prevent ſuſpicion. I came to her ſoon after; and by the back-ſtairs which went down from her cloſet, her ROYAL HIGHNESS, my lady FITZHARDING, and I, with one ſervant, walked to the coach, where we found the biſhop and the earl of DORSET. They conducted us that night to the biſhop's houſe in the city, and the next day to my lord DORSET's at Copt-hall. From thence we went to the earl of NORTHAMPTON's, and from thence to Nottingham, where the country gathered about the PRINCESS; nor

did ſhe think herſelf ſafe, till ſhe ſaw that ſhe was ſurrounded by the PRINCE of Orange's friends.

The moſt remarkable thing that happened to the PRINCESS during her ſtay at this place, was a letter ſhe received from lord CLARENDON. It was full of compliments, and at the ſame time full of complaints, that ſhe had not told him of a thing he liked ſo well, that he might have had a ſhare in it. How well theſe *complaints and the earneſtneſs he ſhewed* (in a conſultation held at Windſor, before the PRINCE of Orange came to London) *to have King* JAMES *ſent to the Tower*, agreed with his conduct afterwards, I ſhall leave to the world to judge.

As this flight of the PRINCESS to Nottingham has by ſome been ignorantly, not to ſay, maliciouſly, imputed to my policy and premeditated contrivance, I thought it neceſſary to give this ſhort, but exact relation of it. It was a thing ſudden and unconcerted; nor had I any ſhare in it, farther than obeying my miſtreſs's orders in the particulars I have mentioned; though in-

deed

deed I had reaſon enough on my own account, to get out of the way, lord CHURCHILL having likewiſe at that time left the KING, and gone over to the other party.

Quickly after this, the KING fled into France. The throne was hereupon declared vacant, and preſently filled with the PRINCE and PRINCESS of Orange. The parliament thought proper to ſettle the crown on king WILLIAM for life, and the PRINCESS of Denmark gave her conſent to it. This was another event which furniſhed ſimple people with a pretence to cenſure me. It was inſinuated, that, to make my court to the KING and QUEEN, I had influenced the PRINCESS to forego her undoubted rights. The truth is, I did perſuade her to conſent to the project of that ſettlement, and to be eaſy under it, after it was made. But no regard to the KING or QUEEN, nor any view of ambition, had the leaſt ſhare in moving me to this conduct, any more than to what inconſiderable part I acted in the buſineſs of the Revolution.

As to the latter, it was evident to all the world, that as things were carried on by king JAMES, every body ſooner or later muſt be ruined, who would not become a Roman catholick. This conſideration made me very well pleaſed at the PRINCE of Orange's undertaking to reſcue us from ſuch ſlavery. But I do ſolemnly proteſt, that, if there be truth in any mortal, I was ſo very ſimple a creature, that I never once dreamt of his being king. Having never *read*, nor employed my time in any thing but playing at cards; and, having no ambition my ſelf, I imagined that the PRINCE of Orange's ſole deſign was to provide for the ſafety of his own country, by obliging king JAMES to keep the laws of ours; and that he would go back as ſoon as he had made us all happy; that there was no ſort of difficulty in the execution of this deſign, and that to do ſo much good would be a greater pleaſure to him than to be king of any country upon earth. I was ſoon taught to know the world better. However, as I was perfectly convinced that a Roman catholick is not to

be truſted with the liberties of England, I never once repined at the change of the government, no, not in all the time of that long perſecution I went through. I might, perhaps, wiſh, it had been compaſs'd by ſome other man who had more honour and juſtice than he, who could depoſe his father-in-law, and uncle, to maintain liberty and laws, and then act the tyrant himſelf in many inſtances; but I never once wiſhed that the change had not been made.

And, as to giving king WILLIAM the crown for life, it was the ſame principle of regard for the public welfare that carried me to adviſe the PRINCESS to acquieſce in it. It is true, that when the thing was firſt ſtarted, I did not ſee any neceſſity for ſuch a meaſure; and I thought it ſo unreaſonable, that I took a great deal of pains (which I believe the KING and QUEEN never forgot) to promote my miſtreſs's pretenſions. But I quickly found that all endeavours of that kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the KING, and, that the

ſettlement would be carried in parliament, whether the PRINCESS conſented to it, or not. So that in reality there was nothing adviſable but to yield with a good grace.

I confeſs, had I been in her place, I ſhould have thought it more for my honour to be eaſy in this matter than to ſhew an impatience to get poſſeſſion of a crown that had been wreſted from my father. And, as it ought to have been a great trouble to the children of king JAMES to be forced to act the part they did againſt him, even for the ſecurity of liberty and religion, (which was truly the caſe) ſo it ſeemed to me, that ſhe, who diſcovered the leſs ambition, would have the more amiable character. However, as I was fearful about every thing the PRINCESS did, while ſhe was thought to be adviſed by me, I could not ſatisfy my own mind, till I had conſulted with ſeveral perſons of undiſputed wiſdom and integrity, and particularly with the lady RUSSEL of Southampton-houſe, and Dr. TILLOTSON, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury. I found them all unanimous in the opinion of

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the *expedieney of the ſettlement propoſed, as things were then ſituated.* In concluſion, therefore, I carried Dr. TILLOTSON to the PRINCESS, and, upon what he ſaid to her, ſhe took care that no diſturbance ſhould be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites who had preſs'd her earneſtly to form an oppoſition.

This is the true account of my proceeding in that affair; and, I believe that ſome events which ſoon followed it, and which in part occaſioned the memorable quarrel between the two ſiſters, will ſufficiently clear me from all ſuſpicion of intending an intereſted, baſe courtſhip to that reign, in violation of the attachment I owed the PRINCESS.

It is certain, and by every body known, that the immediate occaſion of the open breach between her MAJESTY and the PRINCESS of Denmark was the PRINCESS's refuſing to obey the QUEEN's command *to remove me from about her perſon.* But no one, I think, can be ſo fooliſh as to imagine that the QUEEN's diſlike of me was only on ac-

count of my being the wife of lord MARLBOROUGH, who happened then to be in disgrace with the KING; or that her MAJESTY would have insisted on a demand so painful to her sister, had they till then lived together in the harmony, which should naturally be preserved between sisters, especially when embark'd in one common cause against a father in defence of religion.

To clear up this matter then, and to discover the true sources of that famous quarrel, it will be necessary to recur to some preceding events which unfortunately led the way to it.

On the arrival of queen MARY in England, the PRINCESS of Denmark went to meet her, and there was great appearance of kindness between them. But this quickly wore off, and a visible coldness ensued; which I believe was partly occasioned by the persuasion the KING had, that the PRINCE and PRINCESS had been of more use to him, than they were ever like to be again, and partly by the different characters, and humours of the two sisters. It was indeed

impossible

impoſſible they ſhould be very agreeable companions to each other; becauſe queen MARY grew weary of any body who would not talk a great deal; and the PRINCESS was ſo ſilent that ſhe rarely ſpoke more than was neceſſary to anſwer a queſtion. But this was not all. In the very beginning of that reign there happened ſome events, which, as they diſcovered an uncommon diſregard in the QUEEN for her ſiſter, muſt naturally produce an anſwerable diſcontent in the PRINCESS. And here I cannot forbear ſaying, that whatever good qualities queen MARY had to make her popular, *it is too evident by many inſtances that ſhe wanted bowels.*

Of this ſhe ſeemed to me to give an unqueſtionable proof the firſt day ſhe came to Whitehall. I was one of thoſe who had the honour to wait on her to her own apartment. She ran about it, looking into every cloſet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come into an inn, and with no other ſort of concern in her appearance, but

ſuch as they expreſs; a behaviour, which, though at that time I was extremely careſs'd by her, I thought very ſtrange and unbecoming. For, whatever neceſſity there was of depoſing king JAMES, he was ſtill her father, who had been ſo lately driven from that chamber, and that bed; and, if ſhe felt no tenderneſs, I thought ſhe ſhould at leaſt have looked grave, or even penſively ſad, at ſo melancholy a reverſe of his fortune. But I kept theſe thoughts in my own breaſt, not imparting them even to my miſtreſs, to whom I could ſay any thing with all the freedom imaginable. And it was impoſſible for any body to labour more than I did to keep the two ſiſters in perfect union and friendſhip; thinking it beſt for them both not to quarrel when their true intereſt and ſafety were jointly concerned to ſupport the Revolution. But how impracticable the preſervation of this union was rendered by the QUEEN herſelf will ſufficiently appear by what I am now going to relate.

The PRINCESS, ſoon after the KING's coming to Whitehall, had a mind to leave her lodgings (the way from which to the QUEEN's apartment was very inconvenient) and to go to thoſe that had been the ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH's, which the KING on her requeſt told her ſhe ſhould have. But the PRINCESS requeſting alſo (for the conveniency of her ſervants) ſome other lodgings that lay neareſt to thoſe of the duchefs, this matter met with difficulty; though her HIGHNESS in exchange for what ſhe aſked was to give the whole Cockpit (which was more than an equivalent) to be diſpoſed of for the KING's uſe. For the duke of DEVONSHIRE took into his head, that, could he have the ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH's lodgings, where there was a fine room for *balls*, it would give him a very magnificent air. And it was very plain, that, while this matter was in debate, between the KING, and QUEEN, and PRINCESS, my lord DEVONSHIRE's chief buſineſs was, to raiſe ſo many difficulties in making the PRINCESS eaſy in thoſe lodg-

ings,

ings, as at laſt to gain his point. After many converſations upon the affair, the QUEEN told the PRINCESS, *That ſhe could not let her have the lodgings ſhe deſired for her ſervants, till my lord* DEVONSHIRE *had reſolved whether he would have them, or a part of the Cockpit:* Upon which the PRINCESS anſwered, *She would then ſtay where ſhe was, for ſhe would not have my lord* DEVONSHIRE*'s leavings.* So ſhe took the ducheſs of PORTSMOUTH's apartment, granted her at firſt, and uſed it for her children, remaining her ſelf at the Cockpit.

Much about the ſame time the PRINCESS, who had a fondneſs for the houſe at Richmond (where ſhe had lived when a child) and who, beſides, thought the air of that place good for the children, deſired that houſe of the QUEEN; but that likewiſe was refuſed her, though for many years no uſe had been made of it, but for madame POSSAIRE, a ſiſter of my lady ORKNEY's, and Mr. HILL.

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The PRINCESS, notwithſtanding theſe mortifications, continued to pay all imaginable reſpect to the KING and QUEEN. But this did not hinder her MAJESTY from expreſſing a great deal of diſpleaſure, when ſome ſteps were made in parliament towards ſettling a revenue on the PRINCE and PRINCESS. Taking her ſiſter one night to taſk for it, ſhe aſked her, *What was the meaning of thoſe proceedings?* To which the PRINCESS anſwered, *She heard her friends had a mind to make her ſome ſettlement.* The QUEEN haſtily replied with a very imperious air, *Pray what friends have you but the* KING *and* ME? I had not the honour to attend the PRINCESS that night; but when ſhe came back, ſhe repeated this to me. And indeed I never ſaw her expreſs ſo much reſentment as ſhe did at this uſage; and I think it muſt be allowed ſhe had great reaſon. For it was unjuſt in her ſiſter not to allow her a decent proviſion, without an entire dependance on the KING. And beſides, the PRINCESS had in a ſhort time learnt that ſhe muſt be very miſerable, if

ſhe

ſhe was to have no ſupport but the friendſhip of the two perſons her MAJESTY had mentioned.

After this the QUEEN ſaid no more to the PRINCESS on the ſubject of the ſettlement, though they met every day; and the affair went on ſo well in the houſe of commons, that her friends were encouraged to propoſe for her a much larger revenue than was at laſt obtained; to prevent which, by gaining time, the KING prorogued the parliament.

The buſineſs however was reſumed again at the next meeting; and then all poſſible endeavours were uſed, to engage me by flattery and by fear, to diſſuade the PRINCESS from the purſuit of a ſettlement. My lady FITZHARDING, who was more than any body in the QUEEN's favour, and for whom it was well known that I had a ſingular affection, was the perſon chiefly employed in this undertaking. Sometimes ſhe attacked me on the ſide of my own intereſt, telling me, *That if I would not put an end to meaſures ſo diſagreeable to*

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the KING *and* QUEEN, *it would certainly be the ruin of my lord, and conſequently of all our family.* When ſhe found that this had no effect, ſhe endeavoured to alarm my fears for the PRINCESS, by ſaying, *That thoſe meaſures would in all probability ruin her: For no body, but ſuch as flattered me, believed the* PRINCESS *would carry her point; and in caſe ſhe did not, the* KING *would not think himſelf obliged to do any thing for her. That it was perfect madneſs in me to perſiſt, and I had better ten thouſand times perſuade the* PRINCESS *to let the thing fall, and ſo make all eaſy to the* KING *and* QUEEN.

But all this, and a great deal more that was ſaid, was ſo far from inclining me to do what was deſired of me, that it only made me more anxious about the ſucceſs of the PRINCESS's affair, and more earneſt, if poſſible, in the proſecution of it. For, as I would have died, rather than have made my court to that reign by ſacrificing the intereſt of the PRINCESS; ſo there was nothing I dreaded more, than, by the leaſt appearance of negligence, or coldneſs in the

preſent cauſe, to give ground to ſuſpect me of having been flattered, or frightened into ſo baſe a conduct. I employed therefore all the powers I was capable of exerting to advance the deſign. I knew the thing was reaſonable, the PRINCESS's happineſs was concerned in it, and there was a fair proſpect of ſucceeding. Beſides, I thought that whatever happened in parliament, the KING could not well avoid giving ſome allowance to the next heir to the crown. And, if he ſhould give her nothing, ſhe had however, by the marriage-ſettlement, 20,000 *l.* a year, which would keep her in a retired way, much more agreeably than ſhe could hope to live at court, if ſhe depended on his generoſity; of which I had no opinion: For the late lord GODOLPHIN had told me, that the KING, on ſome meeting at the Treaſury, ſpeaking of the civil liſt, *wondered very much how the* PRINCESS *could ſpend* 30,000 l. *a year*, though it appeared afterwards that ſome of his favourites had more. And there were other parts of the KING's conduct (which ſhall be mentioned

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in a proper place) whereby it ſufficiently appeared, that I did not miſtake in my opinion of his diſpoſition.

But, to return to the affair in parliament. A day or two before it was put to the vote in the houſe of commons, I was extremely ſurprized by a meſſage from the duke of SHREWSBURY, who, as he did not viſit me, ſent to deſire to ſpeak with me about buſineſs. When he came, he told me, *That he was ſent by the* KING, *who promiſed to give the* PRINCESS 50,000l. *a year, if ſhe would deſiſt from ſoliciting the ſettlement by parliament, and that he was confident his* MAJESTY *would keep his word: That if he did not, he was ſure he would not ſerve him an hour after he broke it. I ſaid, that ſuch a reſolution might be very right as to his grace, but that I did not ſee it would be of any uſe to the* PRINCESS, *if his* MAJESTY *ſhould not perform the promiſe.* The duke, to convince me of the reaſonableneſs of what he propoſed, added a great deal which had no effect; and I deſired he would attend the PRINCESS herſelf, to

 which

which he conſented. I went to her at his requeſt to acquaint her of his coming. Her anſwer to him was, *That ſhe could not think herſelf in the wrong to deſire a ſecurity for what was to ſupport her; and that the buſineſs was now gone ſo far, that ſhe thought it reaſonable to ſee what her friends could do for her.*

I need not tell you that the PRINCESS carried her point, and that 50,000 *l.* was ſettled by parliament. For when the KING found that he could not perſuade her to an entire dependency upon him, he compounded the matter with her friends upon theſe terms, to hinder their inſiſting on a larger ſettlement. The parliament had ſhewed an inclination that way: But it was at length thought adviſable by the PRINCESS's friends, that ſhe ſhould accept of 50,000 *l.* ſecurely ſettled, rather than have any farther ſtruggle, conſidering the great power and influence of the crown, by means of its dependants.

Nevertheleſs, I was ſo fearful leſt the PRINCESS ſhould ſuffer for want of good advice, that after I had heard of the com-

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mons voting 50,000 *l.* a year, I ſent to ſpeak with my lord ROCHESTER, and aſked his opinion, whether the PRINCESS ought to be ſatisfied, or whether it was reaſonable ſhe ſhould try to get more. (I did not then know how much his heart was bent on making his court to the QUEEN.) His anſwer to me was, *That he thought, not only that the* PRINCESS *ought to be ſatisfied with* 50,000 l. *but that ſhe ought to have taken it in any way the* KING *and* QUEEN *pleaſed.* Which made me reflect that he would not have liked thatadvice in the caſe of his own 4000 *l.* a year from the Poſt-office ſettled on him and his ſon.

But I was not ſo uncivil, as to ſpeak my thought, nor ſo fooliſh as to ſtruggle any longer. For moſt of thoſe who had been prevailed with to promote the ſettlement were tories, among whom my lord ROCHESTER was a very great man. Their zeal on the preſent occaſion was, doubtleſs, to thwart king WILLIAM; for I never obſerved that, on any other, they diſcovered much regard for the PRINCESS of Denmark.

The ſucceſs of the affair was chiefly imputed to the ſteadineſs and diligence of my lord MARLBOROUGH and me, both by thoſe, to whom it was ſo exceedingly diſagreeable, and by her, to whoſe happineſs it was then ſo neceſſary.

On one ſide, it was the chief ſource of all the diſſatisfaction of the KING and QUEEN with us; and on the other, it was acknowledged by the PRINCESS with as deep a ſenſe of the kindneſs, as could be expreſſed, and in a manner generous to a very high degree.

A little above a year after the ſettlement was made, I was ſurpriz'd with a letter from her, wherein ſhe offered me the yearly penſion of 1000 *l.* Some of her words are theſe; *I have had ſomething to ſay to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have deſigned, ever ſince my revenue was ſettled, to deſire you would accept of a thouſand pounds a year.* —— *I beg you would only look upon it as an earneſt of my good-will, but never mention any thing of it to me; for I ſhall be aſhamed to have*

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any notice taken of such a thing from one that deserves more than I shall be ever able to return.

And some time afterwards, a little delay being made by her treasurer in the payment of it, she wrote another letter, wherein were these words; *'Tis long since I mentioned this thing to dear Mrs.* FREEMAN. *She has all the reason in the world to believe I did not mean what I said, or that I have changed my mind, which are both so ill qualities, that I cannot bear you should have cause to think your faithful* MORLEY *is capable of being guilty of either.*

The circumstances of my family at this time were not very great; yet I was so far from catching at so free and large an offer, that I could not persuade myself to accept of it, till I had sent the first letter to lord GODOLPHIN, and consulted him upon the matter. It was his opinion, that there was no reason in the world for me to refuse it. And perhaps no one else will think otherwise, who believes, as he did, that the settling of the PRINCESS's revenue had been

chiefly owing to my lord MARLBOROUGH's indefatigable induſtry, and to mine.

The next difference that happened between the ſiſters, was upon the PRINCE's deſign of going to ſea. He was carried to this reſolution by his unwillingneſs to ſtay at home, while there was ſo much action abroad; and by the remembrance of the extreme ill uſage he had met with, when, at a great expence, he attended his MAJESTY into Ireland. For the KING would not ſuffer his ROYAL HIGHNESS to go in the coach with him: An affront never put upon a perſon of that rank before.

The PRINCE however ſubmitted to this indignity, it being too late to take any meaſures to avoid it. Nor, during the whole campaign, did he fail in any part of duty or reſpect, though the KING never took more notice of him, than if he had been a page of the back ſtairs.

You will allow, I believe, that it was very natural for the PRINCE to chuſe a ſea-expedition, rather than expoſe himſelf again to the like contemptuous uſage. On

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his taking leave of the KING, who was going to Flanders, he aſked his MAJESTY's permiſſion to ſerve him at ſea as a volunteer, and without any command. The KING ſaid nothing; but immediately embraced him by way of adieu. Silence in ſuch caſes being generally taken for conſent, the PRINCE prepared his equipage, and ſent every thing on board. But the KING, as it afterwards appeared, had left orders with the QUEEN, that ſhe ſhould neither ſuffer the PRINCE to go to ſea, nor yet forbid him to go, if ſhe could ſo contrive matters, as to make his ſtaying at home his own choice.

The QUEEN obſerved the KING's directions very exactly. She ſent a great lord to me, to deſire I would perſuade the PRINCESS to keep the PRINCE from going to ſea; and this I was to compaſs, without letting the PRINCESS know that it was the QUEEN's deſire. I anſwered, *That I had all the duty imaginable for the* QUEEN, *but that no conſideration could make me ſo failing to my miſtreſs, as I ſhould think myſelf,*

if I ſpoke to her upon that occaſion, and concealed the reaſon of it. That it was natural for the PRINCESS *to wiſh the* PRINCE *might ſtay at home, and be out of danger; but whether ſhe could prevail in that matter, I did very much doubt. That nevertheleſs I would ſay to the* PRINCESS *whatever her* MAJESTY *pleaſed, provided I might have the liberty to make uſe of her name.* After this, the QUEEN ſent my lord ROCHESTER to me, to deſire much the ſame thing. *The* PRINCE *was not to go to ſea, and his not going was to* appear *his own choice.* But after ſo much noiſe as had been made about his going, the PRINCE thought, that to ſend for his things back, without giving any reaſon for changing his deſign, would be making a very ridiculous figure, and therefore he would not ſubmit. Upon which the QUEEN ſent my lord NOTTINGHAM in form, poſitively to forbid the PRINCE of Denmark's going to ſea.

Notwithſtanding all theſe things, the QUEEN and PRINCESS lived, in appearance, for ſome time after, as if nothing had

had happened, till the KING was pleaſed (without publickly aſſigning any particular reaſon) to remove my lord MARLBOROUGH from all his employments. His MAJESTY ſent lord NOTTINGHAM to tell him, that he had no more occaſion for his ſervice. This event might perhaps be well enough accounted for, by ſaying, that lord PORTLAND had ever a great prejudice to my lord MARLBOROUGH, and that my lady ORKNEY, (then Mrs. VILLIERS) though I had never done her any injury, except not making court to her, was my implacable enemy. But, I think, it is not to be doubted, that the principal cauſe of the KING's meſſage, was the court's diſlike that any body ſhould have ſo much intereſt with the PRINCESS as I had, who would not implicitly obey every command of the KING and QUEEN. The diſgrace of my lord MARLBOROUGH therefore was deſigned as a ſtep towards removing me from about her.

A letter from the QUEEN to her ſiſter, which I ſhall preſently give you, affords ground for this opinion. And the behaviour

our of my lord ROCHESTER, who was much in the QUEEN's favour, and councils, confirms it. He had warmly oppoſed my coming into the PRINCESS's family, and he now ſhewed himſelf very deſirous to have me removed, believing, without queſtion, that could this be compaſſed, he ſhould infallibly have the government of both ſiſters: though certainly, as to the PRINCESS, he never diſcovered any ſuch regard for her, as ſhould give him a title to her confidence.

But to come to the ſequel of the KING's meſſage. I ſolemnly proteſt, that the loſs of my lord MARLBOROUGH's employments would never have broke my reſt one ſingle night upon account of intereſt; but, I confeſs, *the being turned out* is ſomething very diſagreeable to my temper. And, I believe it was three weeks, before my beſt friends could perſuade me, that it was fit for me to go to a court, which (as I thought) had uſed my lord MARLBOROUGH very ill. However at laſt they prevailed. And I remember the chief argument was urged by my lord GODOLPHIN, who ſaid, that it

could not be thought, I made any mean court to the KING and QUEEN, ſince to attend the PRINCESS, was only paying my duty where it was owing.

I waited therefore on my miſtreſs to Kenſington. The conſequence was ſuch, as my friends, having no reaſon to apprehend it, had never thought of. The next day the QUEEN wrote to her ſiſter the following letter.

'Kenſington, Friday, the 5th of *Feb.*

'Having ſomething to ſay to you, which 'I know will not be very pleaſing, I chuſe 'rather to write it firſt, being unwilling to 'ſurprize you; though, I think, what I 'am going to tell you, ſhould not, if you 'give yourſelf the time to think, that ne-'ver any body was ſuffered to live at court 'in my lord MARLBOROUGH'S circum-'ſtances. I need not repeat the cauſe he 'has given the KING to do what he has 'done, nor his unwillingneſs at all times 'to come to ſuch extremities, though peo-'ple do deſerve it.

'I hope,

‘ I hope, you do me the juſtice to be-
‘ lieve, it is as much againſt my will, that
‘ I now tell you, that, after this, it is very
‘ unfit lady MARLBOROUGH ſhould ſtay
‘ with you, ſince that gives her huſband ſo
‘ juſt a pretence of being where he ought
‘ not.

‘ I think, I might have expected you
‘ ſhould have ſpoke to me of it. And the
‘ KING and I, both believing it, made us
‘ ſtay thus long. But ſeeing you was ſo
‘ far from it, that you brought lady MARL-
‘ BOROUGH hither laſt night, makes us re-
‘ ſolve to put it off no longer, but tell you,
‘ ſhe muſt not ſtay; and that I have all
‘ the reaſon imaginable to look upon your
‘ bringing her, as the ſtrangeſt thing that
‘ ever was done. Nor could all my kind-
‘ neſs for you (which is ever ready to turn
‘ all you do the beſt way, at any other
‘ time) have hindred me ſhewing you that
‘ moment, but I conſidered your condition,
‘ and that made me maſter myſelf ſo far,
‘ as not to take notice of it then.

‘ But

‘ But now I muſt tell you, it was very
‘ unkind in a ſiſter, would have been very
‘ uncivil in an equal, and I need not ſay I
‘ have more to claim. Which, though
‘ my kindneſs would make me never ex-
‘ act, yet when I ſee the uſe you would
‘ make of it, I muſt tell you, I know what
‘ is due to me, and expect to have it from
‘ you. ’Tis upon that account, I tell you
‘ plainly, lady MARLBOROUGH muſt not
‘ continue with you in the circumſtances
‘ her lord is.

‘ I know this will be uneaſy to you, and
‘ I am ſorry for it; and it is very much ſo
‘ to me to ſay all this to you, for I have all
‘ the real kindneſs imaginable for you, and
‘ as I ever have, ſo will always do my part
‘ to live with you as ſiſters ought. That is,
‘ not only like ſo near relations, but like
‘ friends. And, as ſuch, I did think to
‘ write to you. For I would have made
‘ myſelf believe your kindneſs for her made
‘ you at firſt forget that you ſhould have
‘ for the KING and ME; and reſolved to
‘ put you in mind of it myſelf, neither of

‘ us

'us being willing to come to harſher ways.

'But the ſight of lady MARLBOROUGH 'having changed my thoughts, does natu-'rally alter my ſtile. And ſince by that I 'ſee how little you ſeem to conſider what 'even in common civility you owe us, I 'have told it you plainly; but withal aſ-'ſure you, that let me have never ſo much 'reaſon to take any thing ill of you, my 'kindneſs is ſo great, that I can paſs over 'moſt things, and live with you, as becomes 'me. And I deſire to do ſo merely from 'that motive. For I do love you, as my 'ſiſter, and nothing but yourſelf can make 'me do otherwiſe. And that is the reaſon 'I chuſe to write this, rather than tell it 'you, that you may overcome your firſt 'thoughts; and when you have well con-'ſidered, you will find, that though the 'thing be hard, (which I again aſſure you 'I am ſorry for) yet it is not unreaſonable, 'but what has ever been practiſed, and 'what you yourſelf would do, were you 'in my place.'

'I will

‘ I will end this with once more desiring
‘ you to consider the matter impartially, and
‘ take time for it. I do not desire an an-
‘ swer presently, because I would not have
‘ you give a rash one. I shall come to your
‘ drawing-room to-morrow before you play,
‘ because you know why I cannot make one:
‘ At some other time we shall reason the
‘ business calmly; which I will willingly do,
‘ or any thing else that may shew, it shall
‘ never be my fault if we do not live kind-
‘ ly together: Nor will I ever be other by
‘ choice, but your truly loving and affectio-
‘ nate sister,

M. R.

I am perhaps too much concerned in the affair to be a proper judge of this letter. However, I shall take the liberty to remark, that it seems not easy to reconcile the QUEEN's being sorry *to say so much*, with her employing at the same time such *useless repetitions*; as if it had been a pleasure to her to remind her sister of the distance between them, and of what was due from the PRIN-

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CESS of Denmark to the QUEEN of England. And I have wondered too, that ſo much kindneſs for a ſiſter, big with child, and ſo much piety (for it muſt be obſerved the QUEEN was in devotion) did not hinder her from doing a thing which ſhe owns is *hard*. Her MAJESTY indeed ſays, that *though it be hard, it is not unreaſonable; but what has ever been practiſed, and what the* PRINCESS *herſelf would do in her place.* What the PRINCESS would have done in her place, no body can tell: (ſhe herſelf thought that ſhe would not have done like the QUEEN.) But that it was not the *conſtant practice* is certain from many inſtances to the contrary, and particularly one, at that very time in the caſe of the marchioneſs of HALIFAX. And if the practice was not conſtant, how reaſonable it was for the QUEEN to inſiſt upon it in my caſe, I believe, I may ſafely leave to the judgment of her moſt zealous advocates.

For how diſagreeable ſoever to the QUEEN my conduct had been, it would have proved no eaſy taſk to her, to find in any part of it a plau-

a plauſible reaſon for preſſing the PRINCESS to part with me. Would any perſon, who deſerves to be in the *ſervice* (not to ſay *intimate friendſhip*) of a princeſs, have acted otherwiſe than I did, in relation to thoſe points in which only I can be ſuppoſed to have diſobliged their MAJESTIES?

Would it have become me to be indifferent in the affair of the ſucceſſion to the crown? and to be willing, *without the neceſſity of publick good*, that my miſtreſs, my friend, the PRINCESS of Denmark ſhould yield her birthright to the PRINCE of Orange?

Could I, conſiſtently with honour, have adviſed the PRINCESS to deſiſt from her attempt to get a maintenance ſettled by parliament, and leave herſelf to the generoſity of a KING and QUEEN, who, by ſeveral ſlights and affronts put upon her, had ſhew'd how very little they were concerned about her happineſs?

Was the part which the QUEEN would have had me act, in relation to the PRINCE's going to ſea, ſuch, as any perſon, who had the leaſt regard for his HIGHNESS's character

and glory, would have consented to perform?

Doubtless my behaviour on all these occasions was criminal in the QUEEN'S eyes; but this was only because she was queen; for she had formerly looked upon my attachment and fidelity to her sister in a very different light.

As a proof of this, I shall give your lordship two letters, which I received from her when she was PRINCESS of Orange. I had many others in the same stile, which were lost in the hurry of the Revolution.

Loo, September the 30th.

'Dr. STANLEY's going to England is too 'good an opportunity for me to lose of as- 'suring lady CHURCHILL, she cannot give 'me greater satisfaction than letting me know 'the firm resolution both lord CHURCHILL 'and you have taken, never to be wanting 'in what you owe your religion. Such a 'generous resolution I am sure must make 'you deserve the esteem of all good people, 'and my sister's in particular. I need say

'nothing

‘ nothing of mine, you have it upon a double
‘ account, as my ſiſter’s friend, beſides what
‘ I have ſaid already; and you may be aſ-
‘ ſured, that I ſhall always be glad of an
‘ occaſion to ſhew it both to your lord and
‘ you.

‘ I have nothing more to add; for your
‘ friendſhip makes my ſiſter as dear to you
‘ as to me, and I am perſuaded we ſhall e-
‘ ver agree in our care for her; as, I be-
‘ lieve, ſhe and I ſhould in our kindneſs for
‘ you, were we near enough to renew our
‘ acquaintance.

MARIE.

‘ IF it were as eaſy for me to write to my
‘ lady CHURCHILL as it is hard to find a
‘ ſafe hand, ſhe might juſtly wonder at my
‘ long ſilence; but I hope ſhe does me more
‘ juſtice than to think it my fault. I have
‘ little to ſay at preſent. To anſwer the
‘ melancholy reflections in your laſt is now
‘ too late; *but I hope my ſiſter and you will*
‘ *never part.* I ſend you here one for her,
‘ and have not any more time now than on-

'ly to aſſure you, that I ſhall never forget 'the kindneſs you ſhewed to her who is ſo 'dear to me. That; and all the good I 'have heard of you, will make me ever 'your affectionate friend, which I ſhall be 'ready to ſhew otherwiſe than by words 'whenever I have an opportunity.'

Your lordſhip ſees by theſe letters that the very ſame tenour of behaviour towards the PRINCESS, which afterwards diſpleas'd the QUEEN, gave me at that time a recommendation to her affection; but the caſe was alter'd. And the PRINCESS of Denmark was now, at the QUEEN of England's command, to put away *that kind, dear friend* whom the PRINCESS of Orange had *hoped ſhe would never part with.* And ſhe was to do this, not for any fault I had committed, but only becauſe I was the wife of my lord MARLBOROUGH, who happened to be in diſgrace with the KING.

Had the QUEEN really had cuſtom on her ſide to countenance her in this harſh command, yet ſurely what was mere cuſtom,

and

and had no law to ſupport it, might well have been neglected in the preſent caſe, in favour of reaſon and humanity.

She calls her command *hard*, becauſe of the *kindneſs* ſhe knew the PRINCESS had for me. But had ſhe mentioned the *reaſons* too of that kindneſs, the ſeverity of her injunction would have been more conſpicuous. I ſpeak not now of the PRINCESS's inclination for me, previous to ſervices on my part, but of that kindneſs which proceeded from her experience of my diſintereſted attachment to her intereſts and happineſs. I ſay *diſintereſted* attachment. For the PRINCESS knew that the QUEEN, after her coming into England, did me many honours which would have engaged ſome people to fix the foundation of their future fortune in her favour; and that there was no perſon more likely than I, to riſe high upon this bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable laws of friendſhip. Nor was there the leaſt probability that the PRINCESS ſhould outlive the KING and QUEEN, to recompenſe my fidelity, by ſuch means as the royal

prerogative furniſhes. And as to the preſent power the PRINCESS had to enrich me, her revenue was no ſuch vaſt thing, as that I could propoſe to draw any mighty matters from thence; and, beſides, Sir BENJAMIN BATHURST had the management of it; I had no ſhare in that ſervice.

I might add here, as a farther proof of the purity and integrity of my conduct, what I fancy you will eaſily believe: That on ſome occaſions I could, without loſing my miſtreſs's affection, have ſacrificed her cauſe, to make my court to the QUEEN. But ſo deteſtable a thought never entred into my ſoul; nor did I ever by aſking any favour of the QUEEN, great or ſmall, for my ſelf or others, give her the leaſt ground to hope, ſhe could have any hold of me on the ſide of my intereſt.

Before the PRINCESS returned an anſwer to the QUEEN's letter of command to diſmiſs me, ſhe ſent to my lord ROCHESTER, ſhewed him the anſwer ſhe had prepared, and, with all the earneſtneſs that can be imagined, deſired he would uſe his intereſt

to assist her, and that he would carry her letter; which last she could by no means persuade him to do. He told her he would speak to the QUEEN but could not give the letter to her. So the PRINCESS sent it by one of her own servants. It contained these words.

'Your MAJESTY was in the right to 'think your letter would be very surprizing 'to me. For you must needs be sensible 'enough of the kindness I have for my la- 'dy MARLBOROUGH, to know, that a 'command from you to part with her 'must be the greatest mortification in the 'world *to me*; and indeed of such a na- 'ture, as I might well have hoped your 'kindness to me would have always pre- 'vented. I am satisfied she cannot have 'been guilty of any fault to you. And it 'would be extremely to her advantage, if 'I could here repeat every word that ever 'she had said to me of you in her whole 'life. I confess, it is no small addition 'to my trouble to find the want of your

'MAJESTY's kindneſs to me upon this oc-
'caſion; ſince I am ſure I have always en-
'deavoured to deſerve it by all the actions
'of my life.

'Your care of my preſent condition is
'extremely obliging. And if you would
'be pleaſed to add to it ſo far, as upon
'my account to recal your ſevere command
'(as I muſt beg leave to call it in a matter
'ſo tender to me, and ſo little reaſonable,
'as I think, to be impoſed upon me, that
'you would ſcarce require it from the mean-
'eſt of your ſubjects) I ſhould ever ac-
'knowledge it as a very agreeable mark
'of your kindneſs to me. And I muſt as
'freely own, that as I think this proceeding
'can be for no other intent than to give me
'a very ſenſible mortification, ſo there is
'no miſery that I cannot readily reſolve to
'ſuffer, rather than the thoughts of parting
'with her. If after all this that I have ſaid,
'I muſt ſtill find my ſelf ſo unhappy as
'to be farther preſſed in this matter, yet
'your Majeſty may be aſſur'd that, as my

'paſt

'paſt actions have given the greateſt teſti-
'mony of my reſpect both for the KING
'and you, ſo it ſhall always be my endea-
'vour, wherever I am, to preſerve it care-
'fully for the time to come, as becomes

'*Your* MAJESTY'S

From the *Cockpit*,
Feb. 6th, 1692.

'*very affectionate ſiſter*

'*and ſervant*,

'ANNE.

To this the PRINCESS received no anſwer but a meſſage by my lord chamberlain *to forbid my continuing any longer at the* Cockpit.

It was the opinion of ſeveral people, that the KING had no more power to remove any body out of that houſe, than out of any other buildings on that ſide the park, it having been bought of the duke of LEEDS, and ſettled at the PRINCEESS's marriage in king CHARLES's time on her, and her heirs. But the PRINCESS had reſolved to do every

thing

thing reſpectful to the KING and QUEEN; except yielding in that ſingle point of parting with me. And therefore inſtead of inſiſting on the right, which ſhe had in common with every other ſubject, *of being miſtreſs in her own houſe*, ſhe wrote to the QUEEN the following letter.

'I am very ſorry to find that all I have 'ſaid my ſelf, and my lord ROCHESTER 'for me, has not had effect enough to keep 'your MAJESTY from perſiſting in a reſo- 'lution, which you are ſatisfied muſt be ſo 'great a mortification to me, as, to avoid 'it, I ſhall be obliged to retire, and de- 'prive my ſelf of the ſatisfaction of living 'where I might have frequent opportuni- 'ties of aſſuring you of that duty and re- 'ſpect, which I always have been, and 'ſhall be deſirous to pay you upon all oc- 'caſions.

'My only conſolation in this extremity is, 'that not having done any thing in all my 'life, to deſerve your unkindneſs, I hope I 'ſhall not be long under the neceſſity of

'abſenting

'absenting my self from you; the thought
'of which is so uneasy to me, that I find
'my self too much indisposed to give your
'MAJESTY any farther trouble at this time.

February the 8th, 1692.

Though my lord ROCHESTER be mentioned in this letter, as having employed his good offices to prevail with the QUEEN to change her determination, there is little reason to think that his intercession could be very warm or urgent after the refusal he made to carry the former letter, though pressed to it by the most earnest entreaties.

At the same time, that the PRINCESS resolved to leave the Cockpit, she sent to speak with the duchess of SOMERSET, of whom she desired to borrow Sion for some little time. The duchess made her many expressions, and very soon after, having spoke to the duke of SOMERSET of it, waited on her again, to acquaint her, in a very respectful manner, that Sion was at her service.

As soon as this was known, the KING did all he could to dissuade the duke from letting

letting the PRINCESS have the houſe; but his grace had too much greatneſs of mind to go back from his promiſe; ſo there was an end of that matter.

Before the PRINCESS removed from the Cockpit, ſhe waited upon her MAJESTY at Kenſington, making all the profeſſions that could be imagined, to which the QUEEN was as inſenſible as a ſtatue. When ſhe did anſwer her it was in the ſtile of her letter.

Soon after the PRINCESS's going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, which was ſaid to have been hid ſomewhere, I don't know where, in a flower-pot; and my lord MARLBOROUGH was ſent to the Tower.

To commit a peer to priſon it was neceſſary there ſhould be an affidavit from ſome body of the treaſon. My lord ROMNEY therefore, ſecretary of ſtate, had ſent to one YOUNG, who was then in jail for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what they call a *legal evidence*. For as the court-lawyers ſaid, YOUNG not having loſt his ears, was an *irreproachable witneſs*. I ſhall not dwell on the ſtory of

this fellow's villainy, the biſhop of Rocheſter having given a full Account of it in print.

Whether my lord MARLBOROUGH's conſpiracy with this YOUNG was what the QUEEN meant in her letter to the PRINCESS, where ſhe ſpeaks *of the cauſe my lord* MARLBOROUGH *had given the* KING *to do what he had done, and of his unwillingneſs to come to ſuch extremities, though people did deſerve it*, I know not. Nor indeed could I ever learn what cauſe the KING aſſigned for his diſpleaſure. But it is natural to think he would give the beſt reaſon he could for uſing in that manner a man, who had done ſo much for the Revolution. Every one knows, that my lord MARLBOROUGH had conſiderable employments under king JAMES, and might have hoped to be as great a favourite as any body, could he have aſſiſted in bringing about that unhappy PRINCE's ſcheme of fixing popery and arbitrary power in England. It was highly improbable therefore, that he, who had done ſo much, and ſacrificed ſo much for the preſervation of the

religion

religion and liberty of his country, ſhould on a ſudden engage in a conſpiracy to deſtroy them. And though theſe conſiderations had no weight with the KING, they had ſo much with my lord DEVONSHIRE, my lord BRADFORD, and the late duke of MONTAGU, that they thought it infamous to ſend my lord MARLBOROUGH to priſon upon ſuch evidence; and therefore when the warrant for his commitment came to be ſigned at the council-table, they refuſed to put their hands to it, though at that time they had no particular friendſhip for him. My lord BRADFORD's behaviour was very remarkable; for he made my lord MARLBOROUGH a viſit in the Tower, while ſome of our friends, who had lived in our family like near relations for many years, were ſo fearful of doing themſelves hurt at court, that in the whole time of his confinement, they never made him or me a viſit, nor ſent to enquire how we did, for fear it ſhould be known.

My lord MARLBOROUGH's being ſent to the Tower having obliged me to go and ſtay at London to attend the affair of his releaſe-

ment, I there received, among many others, in the ſame ſtile of tenderneſs, the following letters from the PRINCESS. I have tranſcribed theſe, to ſhew you her goodneſs to me upon all occaſions, and to give you a more lively impreſſion of the cruelty of the QUEEN's command, that injoined her ſiſter to part with a friend ſo dear to her heart, merely to gratify the royal pride in a point of ceremony.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'Though I have nothing to ſay to my 'dear Mrs. FREEMAN, I cannot help en-'quiring how ſhe and her lord does. If it 'be *not* convenient to you to write, when 'you receive this, either keep the bearer 'till it is, or let me have a word or two 'from you by the next opportunity when it 'is eaſy to you; for I would not be a con-'ſtraint to you at any time, much leſs 'now, when you have ſo many things to 'do, and think of. All I deſire to hear 'from you at ſuch a time as this, is, that 'you and your's are well. Which, next

'to

‘ to having my lord MARLBOROUGH out
‘ of his enemies power, is the beſt news
‘ that can come to her, who, to the laſt
‘ moment of her life, will be dear Mrs.
‘ FREEMAN’s.

Friday Night.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I give dear Mrs. FREEMAN a thou-
‘ ſand thanks for her kind letter, which
‘ gives me an account of her concerns; and
‘ that is what I deſire more to know than
‘ any other news. I ſhall reckon the days
‘ and hours, and think the time very long
‘ till the term is out, for both your ſake
‘ and my lord MARLBOROUGH’s, that
‘ he may be at liberty, and your mind at
‘ eaſe. You do not ſay any thing of your
‘ health, which makes me hope you are
‘ well, at leaſt, not worſe than when you
‘ were here. And, dear Mrs. FREEMAN
‘ don’t ſay when I can ſee you, if I come
‘ to town; therefore I aſk what day will
‘ be moſt convenient to you? For, though
‘ all days are alike to me, I ſhould be glad

‘ you

'you would name one, becauſe I am to
'take ſome phyſick, and would order that
'accordingly. I confeſs, I long to ſee you,
'but am not ſo unreaſonable to deſire that
'ſatisfaction till it is eaſy to you. I wiſh
'with all my ſoul, that you may not be a
'true propheteſs, and that it may be ſoon
'in our power to enjoy one another's com-
'pany, more than it has been of late; which
'is all I covet in this world.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'I am ſorry with all my heart, dear Mrs.
'FREEMAN meets with ſo many delays;
'but it is a comfort, they cannot keep lord
'MARLBOROUGH in the Tower longer
'than the end of the term; and, I hope,
'when the parliament ſits, care will be tak-
'en that people may not be clapt up for
'nothing, or elſe there will be no living in
'quiet for any body, but inſolent Dutch,
'and ſneaking mercenary Engliſhmen. Dear
'Mrs. FREEMAN, farewel; be aſſured
'your faithful Mrs. MORLEY can never
'change; and, I hope, you do not in the

‘ leaſt doubt of her kindneſs, which, if
‘ it be poſſible, encreaſes every day, and
‘ that can never have an end but with her
‘ life. Mrs. MORLEY hopes her dear Mrs.
‘ FREEMAN will let her have the ſatisfac-
‘ tion of hearing from her again to-morrow.

Thurſday.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

‘ Dear Mrs. FREEMAN may eaſily ima-
‘ gine, I cannot have much to ſay, ſince
‘ I ſaw her. However, I muſt write two
‘ words. For though I believe ſhe does not
‘ doubt of my conſtancy, ſeeing how baſe
‘ and falſe all the world is, I am of that
‘ temper, I think, I can never ſay enough
‘ to aſſure you of it. Therefore give me
‘ leave to aſſure you they can never change
‘ me. And there is no miſery I cannot
‘ readily reſolve to ſuffer, rather than the
‘ thought of parting from you. And I do
‘ ſwear, I would ſooner be torn in pieces,
‘ than alter this my reſolution. My dear
‘ Mrs. FREEMAN, I long to hear from you.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'My dear Mrs. FREEMAN was in ſo diſ-
'mal a way when ſhe went from hence,
'that I cannot forbear asking, how ſhe does,
'and if ſhe has yet any hopes of lord
'MARLBOROUGH's being ſoon at liberty.
'For God's ſake, have a care of your dear
'ſelf, and give as little way to melancholy
'thoughts as you can. If I could be as of-
'ten with you as thoſe that have it in their
'power, but not in their will, you ſhould
'ſeldom be alone, but though I have not
'that ſatisfaction, as much as I deſire, I
'aſſure you, my heart is always with you;
'and if wiſhes ſignified any thing, you
'would have no uneaſy minute.

'Though I long of all things to hear
'from my dear Mrs. FREEMAN, I am not
'ſo unreaſonable as to expect the groom
'ſhould come back to-night, if he comes
'to you at an unſeaſonable hour; therefore
'keep him till it is eaſy to you to write.
'But I am in hopes, I ſhall have a word or
'two before I go to bed; becauſe my dear

‘ Mrs. FREEMAN has promiſed I ſhall hear
‘ from you.

‘ I fancy aſs's milk would do you good,
‘ and that is what you might take morn-
‘ ing or afternoon, as it is moſt conve-
‘ nient.

‘ I had no ſooner ſealed my letter, but
‘ I received my dear Mrs. FREEMAN's,
‘ for which I give her a thouſand thanks,
‘ and am overjoyed at the good news you
‘ ſend me, which I hope will cure you of
‘ every thing.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I am in pain to know how my dear
‘ Mrs. FREEMAN does, for ſhe is not uſed
‘ to complain, nor to be let blood for a lit-
‘ tle thing; and therefore I cannot help en-
‘ quiring what is the matter, and how ſhe
‘ finds herſelf now? I can come either to
‘ London or Camden-houſe to-morrow or
‘ monday, or any other day. If you will
‘ let me know where and when, and what
‘ time I may have the ſatisfaction of ſee-
‘ ing you, your faithful MORLEY will be
‘ ſure to meet you. Your

Your lordſhip ſees by theſe letters of tenderneſs how impoſſible it muſt have been for the PRINCESS to comply with the QUEEN's deſire, had it appeared leſs unreaſonable than it did. However, ſhe was very attentive not to be wanting in any point of *due* reſpect. Falling in labour at Sion, ſhe ſent ſir BENJAMIN BATHURST to preſent her humble duty to the QUEEN, and acquaint her with it, and that ſhe was much worſe than ſhe uſed to be; as ſhe really was. The QUEEN did not think fit to ſee the meſſenger, nor to make any anſwer.

Notwithſtanding this, when the PRINCESS was brought to bed of a child, that died ſome minutes after the birth, ſhe ſent my lady CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT to inform her MAJESTY of what had happened. My lady waited ſome conſiderable time before the QUEEN ſaw her. The reaſon of this was my lord ROCHESTER's not being preſent, when the meſſage came. After ſome converſation with him, the QUEEN ſent for my lady CHARLOTTE, and told her, *ſhe would go that afternoon and ſee the* PRIN-

CESS *at Sion*, and ſhe was there very ſoon after the notice arrived.

She came attended by the ladies DERBY and SCARBOROUGH. I am ſure it will be neceſſary to have a good voucher to perſuade your lordſhip of the truth of what I am going to relate. The PRINCESS herſelf told me, that the QUEEN never aſked her how ſhe did, nor expreſſed the leaſt concern for her condition, nor ſo much as took her by the hand. The ſalutation was this: *I have made the firſt ſtep, by coming to you, and I now expect you ſhould make the next by removing my lady* MARLBOROUGH. The PRINCESS anſwered, *That ſhe had never in all her life diſobeyed her, except in that one particular, which ſhe hoped would, ſome time or other, appear as unreaſonable to her* MAJESTY, *as it did to her.* Upon which the QUEEN roſe up and went away, repeating to the PRINCE, as he led her to the coach, the ſame thing ſhe had ſaid to the PRINCESS.

My lady DERBY did not come to the bed-ſide, nor make the leaſt enquiry after her

her health, though the PRINCESS had recommended her, for groom of the ſtole, to the QUEEN, on her acceſſion to the crown. Lady SCARBOROUGH indeed behaved herſelf as became her on that occaſion, and afterwards aſked the QUEEN's leave to viſit me, becauſe we had been old acquaintance; which was granted.

I have heard that the QUEEN, when ſhe came home, was pleaſed to ſay, *ſhe was ſorry ſhe had ſpoke to the* PRINCESS; *who*, ſhe confeſſed, *had ſo much concern upon her at renewing the affair, that ſhe trembled and looked as white as the ſheets.* But if her MAJESTY was really touched with compaſſion, it is plain, by what followed, that ſhe overcame herſelf extremely. For preſently after this viſit, all company was forbid waiting on the PRINCESS; and her guards were taken away.

I do not ſee how the moſt zealous advocates for the QUEEN can vindicate her in theſe proceedings to an only ſiſter, nor how a man of that mighty underſtanding, my lord ROCHESTER was ſaid to have, could

think, that a viſit (which the QUEEN made to every counteſs) was ſo extraordinary a grace to a ſiſter, that it ſhould oblige her to do, what ſhe had retired from the court to avoid.

I muſt obſerve to your lordſhip, that the KING was not in England, when this laſt thing happened. My lord ROCHESTER was the QUEEN's oracle; and whether he had any ſhare or not in beginning the ill uſage of the PRINCESS, he was without queſtion the proſecutor of it.

I fancy, you have been wiſhing, during all this ſtory, that I had made ſome propoſal to the PRINCESS, to free her from the trouble ſhe was in, and to ſave her from ſuch indignities, as ſurely have ſeldom, if ever, been offered to the preſumptive heir of a crown. When you have read ſome letters I had from her on the occaſion, I believe you will be ſatisfied I did my part. I aſſure you, that from the very beginning of the difference, it was my earneſt requeſt to her to let me go from her; for though, had I been in her place, I would not have com-

plied

plied with the QUEEN's demand, yet I thought that in mine, I could not discharge what I owed to the PRINCESS, without employing every argument my thoughts could suggest, to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I said any thing that looked that way, she fell into the greatest passion of tenderness and weeping that is possible to imagine. And though my situation, at that time, was so disagreeable to my temper, that, could I have known how long it was to last, I could have chosen to go to the Indies sooner, than to endure it; yet, had I been to suffer a thousand deaths, I think I ought to have submitted, rather than have gone from her against her will.

As soon as the PRINCESS was recovered from a fever, which followed the indisposition of her lying-in, (and which, I believe, was, in great measure, caused by her trouble) she began to think she should be found fault with, if she did not express her thankfulness for the great honour the QUEEN had done her. Whereupon she sent to doctor STILLINGFLEET, bishop of Worcester, to

come

come to see her, intending to write to the QUEEN by him, and to make use of his credit to soften her. On this occasion, I had from her the two following letters.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'I had last night a very civil answer from
'the bishop of WORCESTER, whom I sent
'to speak with, but have heard nothing more
'of him since, so I dare not venture to go
'to London to-day, for fear of missing him.
'If he comes in any time to-morrow, I will
'not fail of being with my dear Mrs. FREE-
'MAN, about five or six o'clock, unless
'you are to go to the Tower. And if you
'do, pray be so kind as to let me know
'time enough to stop my journey. For I
'would not go to London, and miss the
'satisfaction of seeing you. I could not for-
'bear writing, though I had nothing more
'to say, but that it is impossible ever to ex-
'press the kindness I have for dear Mrs.
'FREEMAN.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'Sir BENJAMIN telling me you were not

'come

'come to town at three o'clock, makes me
'in pain to know how your ſon does, and
'I can't help enquiring after him and dear
'Mrs. FREEMAN. The biſhop of WORCES-
'TER was with me this morning before I
'was dreſs'd. I gave him my letter to the
'QUEEN, and he has promiſed to ſecond
'it, and ſeemed to undertake it very wil-
'lingly: Though by all the diſcourſe I
'had with him, (of which I will give
'you a particular account when I ſee you)
'I find him very partial to her. The laſt
'time he was here, I told him you had
'ſeveral times deſired you might go from
'me, and I have repeated the ſame thing
'again to him. For you may eaſily ima-
'gine, I would not neglect doing you
'right upon all occaſions. But I beg it
'again for CHRIST JESUS's ſake, that
'you would never name it any more to
'me. For be aſſured, if you ſhould ever
'do ſo cruel a thing as to leave me, from
'that moment I ſhall never enjoy one quiet
'hour. And ſhould you do it without aſk-
'ing my conſent (which if I ever give you,

'may

'may I never ſee the face of heaven) I
'will ſhut myſelf up, and never ſee the
'world more, but live where I may be
'forgotten by human kind.

The letter which the PRINCESS ſent to the QUEEN by the biſhop of WORCESTER was in theſe terms.

Sion, the 20th of *May*.

'I have now, GOD be thank'd, recover'd
'my ſtrength well enough to go abroad.
'And though my duty and inclination
'would both lead me to wait upon your
'MAJESTY, as ſoon as I am able to do it,
'yet I have of late had the misfortune of
'being ſo much under your MAJESTY's
'diſpleaſure, as to apprehend, there may
'be hard conſtructions made upon any
'thing I either do, or not do, with the
'moſt reſpectful intentions. And I am in
'doubt whether the ſame arguments, that
'have prevailed with your MAJESTY to
'forbid people from ſhewing their uſual
'reſpects to me, may not be carried ſo much
'farther,

'farther, as not to permit me to pay my
'duty to you. That, I acknowledge,
'would be a great encreaſe of affliction to
'me; and nothing but your MAJESTY's
'own command ſhall ever willingly make
'me ſubmit to it. For, whatever reaſon I
'may think in my own mind I have to
'complain of being hardly uſed, yet I will
'ſtrive to hide it, as much as poſſible. And
'though I will not pretend to live at the
'Cockpit, unleſs you would be ſo kind as
'to make it eaſy to me, yet wherever I
'am, I will endeavour always to give the
'conſtant marks of duty and reſpect, which
'I have in my heart for your MAJESTY,
'as becomes

'Your Majeſty's

'very affectionate ſiſter

'and ſervant,

ANNE.

To this the QUEEN returned the following anſwer.

To

To the PRINCESS.

' I have received your's by the biſhop of
' WORCESTER, and have very little to ſay
' to it; ſince you cannot but know, that as I
' never uſed compliments, ſo now they will
' not ſerve.

' 'Tis none of my fault, we live at this
' diſtance, and I have endeavoured to ſhew
' my willingneſs to do otherwiſe. And I
' will do no more. Don't give yourſelf
' any unneceſſary trouble: for be aſſured
' it is not words can make us live together
' as we ought. You know what I required
' of you. And I now tell you, if you
' doubted it before, that I cannot change
' my mind, but expect to be complied with,
' or you muſt not wonder if I doubt of
' your kindneſs. You can give me no other
' marks, that will ſatisfy me. Nor can I
' put any other conſtruction upon your ac-
' tions than what all the world muſt do,
' that ſees them. Theſe things don't hin-
' der me being very glad to hear you are ſo
' well, and wiſhing you may continue ſo;

' and

‘ and that you may yet, while ’tis in your
‘ power, oblige me to be your affectionate
‘ ſiſter

‘ MARIE R.

What ſentiments the PRINCESS had on receiving this harſh, peremptory declaration from the QUEEN, you will ſee by her letter to me on that occaſion.

The PRINCESS *to lady* MARLBOROUGH.

‘ I am very ſenſibly touched with the
‘ misfortune that my dear Mrs. FREEMAN
‘ has had of loſing her ſon, knowing very
‘ well, what it is to loſe a child: but ſhe
‘ knowing my heart ſo well, and how great
‘ a ſhare I bear in all her concerns, I will
‘ not ſay any more on this ſubject, for fear
‘ of renewing her paſſion too much.

‘ Being now at liberty to go where I
‘ pleaſe, by the QUEEN’s refuſing to ſee me,
‘ I am mightily inclined to go to-morrow,
‘ after dinner, to the Cockpit, and from
‘ thence privately in a chair to ſee you,
‘ ſome time next week. I believe it will

'be time for me to go to London to make
'an end of that buſineſs of Berkeley houſe.
'The biſhop brought me the QUEEN's
'letter early this morning, and by that lit-
'tle he ſaid, he did not ſeem ſo well ſatis-
'fied with her, as he was yeſterday. He
'has promiſed to bear me witneſs, that I
'have made all the advances, that were rea-
'ſonable. And I confeſs, I think, the
'more it is told about, that I would have
'waited on the QUEEN, but that ſhe re-
'fuſed ſeeing me, it is the better: and
'therefore I will not ſcruple ſaying it to
'any body, when it comes in my way.
'There were ſome in the family, as ſoon
'as the news came this morning of our
'fleet's beating the French, that adviſed
'the PRINCE to go in the afternoon to
'compliment the QUEEN. And another
'aſked me, if I would not ſend her one?
'but we neither of us thought there was
'any neceſſity of it then, and much leſs
'ſince I received this arbitrary letter. I
'don't ſend you the original for fear any
'accident may happen to the bearer: for I

'love

'love to keep ſuch letters by me for my
'own juſtification. Sure never any body
'was uſed ſo by a ſiſter! but I thank GOD
'I have nothing to reproach myſelf withal
'in this buſineſs, but the more I think of
'all that has paſſed, the better I am ſatiſ-
'fied. And if I had done otherwiſe, I
'ſhould have deſerved to have been the
'ſcorn of the world, and to be trampled
'upon as much as my enemies would have
'me.

'Dear Mrs. FREEMAN farewel. I hope
'in CHRIST you will never think more of
'leaving me, for I would be ſacrificed to
'do you the leaſt ſervice, and nothing but
'death can ever make me part with you.
'For if it be poſſible I am every day more
'and more yours.

'I hope your lord is well. It was Mr.
'MAUL and lady FITZHARDING
'that adviſed the PRINCE and me to
'make our compliments to the QUEEN.

As your lordſhip has here read the PRINCESS's final reſolution, you may now perhaps

haps be curious to know, what were the PRINCE of Denmark's diſpoſitions, in relation to this affair. Some parts of the following letters will ſatisfy you *in this point*, as the reſt will confirm what has been ſaid of my deſiring to leave the PRINCESS; the ill treatment ſhe had met with, in this reign, from the beginning; and the obligations ſhe thought herſelf under to lord MARLBOROUGH and me for our fidelity and diligent ſervices to her.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'I really long to know how my dear 'Mrs. FREEMAN got home; and now I 'have this opportunity of writing, ſhe muſt 'give me leave to tell her, if ſhe ſhould 'ever be ſo cruel to leave her faithful Mrs. 'MORLEY, ſhe will rob her of all the joy 'and quiet of her life; for if that day ſhould 'come, I could never enjoy a happy mi-'nute, and I ſwear to you I would ſhut my 'ſelf up and never ſee a creature. You may 'eaſily ſee all this would have come upon 'me, if you had not been. If you do but

'remember

'remember what the Q. ſaid to me the
'night before your lord was turned out of
'all; then ſhe begun to pick quarrels; and
'if they ſhould take off twenty or thirty
'thouſand pound, have I not lived upon
'as little before? When I was firſt married
'we had but twenty (it is true indeed the
'KING was ſo kind to pay my debts) and
'if it ſhould come to that again, what re-
'trenchment is there, in my family, I would
'not willingly make, and be glad of that
'pretence to do it: never fancy, dear Mrs.
'FREEMAN, if what you fear ſhould hap-
'pen, that you are the occaſion; no I am
'very well ſatisfied, *and ſo is the* PRINCE
'*too*, it would have been ſo however, for
' is capable of doing nothing but
'injuſtice; therefore reſt ſatisfied, you are
'no ways the cauſe; and let me beg once
'more, for GOD's ſake, that you would
'never mention parting more, no nor ſo
'much as think of it; and if you ſhould
'ever leave me, be aſſured it would break
'your faithful Mrs. MORLEY's heart.

Friday morning.

 I hope

'I hope my dear Mrs. FREEMAN will
'come as ſoon as ſhe can, this afternoon,
'that we may have as much time together
'as we can; I doubt you will think me very
'unreaſonable for ſaying this, but I really
'long now to ſee you again, as much as if
'I had not been ſo happy this month.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'In obedience to dear Mrs. FREEMAN,
'*I have told the* PRINCE *all ſhe deſired me,*
'*and he is ſo far from being of another opi-*
'*nion, if there had been occaſion he would*
'*have ſtrengthened me in my reſolutions, and*
'*we both beg you would never mention ſo cru-*
'*el a thing any more.* Can you think ei-
'ther of us ſo wretched that for the ſake
'of twenty thouſand pound, and to be tor-
'mented from morning to night with flat-
'tering knaves and fools, we ſhould forſake
'thoſe, we have ſuch obligations to, and
'that we are ſo certain we are the occaſion
'of all their misfortunes? Beſides, can you
'believe we will truckle to who
'from the firſt moment of his coming has
'uſed

'uſed us at that rate, as we are ſenſible he
'has done, and that all the world can wit-
'neſs, that will not let their intereſt weigh
'more with them, than their reaſon. But
'ſuppoſe I did ſubmit, and that the KING
'could change his nature ſo much, as to uſe
'me with humanity, how would all rea-
'ſonable people deſpiſe me? How would
'laugh at me and pleaſe himſelf
'with having got the better? And which is
'much more, how would my conſcience
'reproach me for having ſacrificed it, my
'honour, reputation, and all the ſubſtan-
'tial comforts of this Life for tranſitory in-
'tereſt, which, even to thoſe who make
'it their idol, can never afford any real ſa-
'tisfaction, much leſs to a virtuous mind:
'No, my dear Mrs. FREEMAN, never be-
'lieve your faithful Mrs. MORLEY will
'ever ſubmit. She can wait with patience
'for a ſun-ſhine day, and if ſhe does not
'live to ſee it, yet ſhe hopes England will
'flouriſh again. Once more give me leave
'to beg you would be ſo kind never to ſpeak
'of parting more, for let what will happen,

'that is the only thing can make me mi-
'ſerable.

Tueſday Morning.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS continued ſteady in his opinion to the laſt, notwithſtanding that almoſt all the ſervants in the family, and eſpecially thoſe whom I had brought into it, were frequently preſſing him to have me removed. My Lord BERKELEY indeed, though I believe he did not know, that he was obliged to me for his employment of groom of the ſtole, ſaid ſomething very handſom to the PRINCE, (as the PRINCESS told me) to ſtrengthen him in the contrary reſolution. But my lord LEXINGTON, who was not ſo ignorant of the ſervice I had done him, made the firſt return for it, by ſpeaking to the PRINCE *to put her out, who had put him in.*

But of all that happened to me of this kind, nothing ſurpriſed ſo much, as the behaviour of Mr. MAUL. I had not only brought him to be bed-chamber man to the PRINCE, when he was quite a ſtranger to

that court, but, to mend his ſalary, had invented an employment for him, that of overlooking the PRINCESS's accounts: And I had done this without having been aſked to do it. I had indeed a great value for him, and thought him ſo worthy a man, and ſo much my friend, that I might ſafely have truſted to his care my moſt important concerns. But you will ſee how extremely I was miſtaken. This man never came near me, during that time of trouble. And when I chanced to meet him at Sion, avoided as much as he could, even to make me a bow; apprehending, I believe, that I ſhould aſk him to be lord MARLBOROUGH's bail: Not that I then gueſs'd this to be his reaſon; but I thought ſo afterwards; becauſe, notwithſtanding his ſtrange coldneſs, even to rudeneſs, as ſoon as it was known that lord SHREWSBURY, lord BURLINGTON, lord CARBURY, and lord HALIFAX were to be bail for my lord MARLBOROUGH he came to ſee me, and offered himſelf for that ſervice, making as if he knew nothing of what was ſo publick. I thanked him, and told him, lord

MARLBOROUGH had friends, who would bail him, but that one of his beſt friends, was a paper that lay upon the table, which I had often kiſſed, *The act of Habeas Corpus.*

But this was not the greateſt proof I had of Mr. MAUL's ingratitude. He was one of thoſe, who were moſt urgent with the PRINCE, that he would prevail with the PRINCESS to put me away. For this end he took more pains than ordinary in attending on him. And I cannot help telling a very fooliſh thing he ſaid to his ROYAL HIGHNESS, and what one would not have expected from a man that kept good company. The PRINCE one day, after being much preſſed by him, on my ſubject, anſwered, *That he had ſo much tenderneſs for the* PRINCESS, *that he could not deſire to make her ſo uneaſy, as he knew the parting with me would do. And beſides, he had done a great deal, and had been very ill uſed.* To which Mr. MAUL replied, *That it was true his* HIGHNESS *had done a great deal; but if he refuſed this thing, it was like a cow, that gave a great deal of milk, and then kicked it down.*

Very

Very ſoon after this eloquent, but unſucceſsful pleading of Mr. MAUL (who had certainly been employed by my lord ROCHESTER) a letter came to the PRINCESS, from his lordſhip, on occaſion of the QUEEN's having forbid people to go to her.

The contents of it were theſe.

'MADAM,

'I am afraid, I may be guilty of too 'great preſumption in giving your ROYAL 'HIGHNESS the trouble of a letter; but I 'do it with ſo good intentions, that I hope 'you cannot be angry with me for it. And 'now that one is unhappily reſtrained from 'the honour of waiting upon your ROYAL 'HIGHNESS, there is no other way but 'this to make an offer of my humble duty 'to you. It is a very uncomfortable reflec-'tion for me to make, that being ſo really 'concerned, as I am ſure I am, for your 'ROYAL HIGHNESS's happineſs, I ſhould 'be ſo unfortunate as to be wholly uſeleſs 'to you, at a time, when your ROYAL 'HIGHNESS cannot but think yourſelf, that

'you

‘ you have uſe of every body, that are truly
‘ and faithfully your ſervants. And how-
‘ ever I have been ſo miſtaken in my judg-
‘ ment, as to have never offered any thing
‘ to your ROYAL HIGHNESS, worth your
‘ approbation, I do, with all humility, ſub-
‘ mit my poor opinion to that of your ROY-
‘ AL HIGHNESS; but beg you to believe,
‘ it is not flattery to any body elſe, nor any
‘ other conſideration that has made me be
‘ of the mind I was; but only the want of
‘ a better underſtanding, to be able to
‘ think of ſomething more for your ſervice.
‘ And being thus incapable of my ſelf to
‘ propoſe any thing that is agreeable to you,
‘ I take this occaſion humbly to offer to
‘ your ROYAL HIGHNESS all the little ſer-
‘ vice you may judge me fit to be employed
‘ in, and moſt earneſtly to beſeech you to
‘ believe, that if I can be of any uſe in the
‘ world to your ROYAL HIGHNESS, there
‘ is nothing that I would endeavour with
‘ greater ſatisfaction to my ſelf, than at this
‘ time to expreſs the great concern, I pre-
‘ ſume to ſay I have, for your ROYAL

‘ HIGH-

'. HIGHNESS, by any thing that I can do for
' your ſervice. And if any thing I have
' taken the confidence to ſay be worth
' your taking notice of, the leaſt ſignifica-
' tion of your pleaſure will bring me at all
' times to receive the honour of any of
' your commands; and the duty and zeal
' and paſſion, I have for your true intereſt
' and proſperity, will, I hope, make ſome
' amends for the want of a better judg-
' ment and capacity, which I acknowledge
' every body has a greater ſhare of than,

MADAM,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's

moſt obedient and

moſt dutiful Servant,

ROCHESTER.

I cannot help thinking, that there is ſomething very abſurd in the *affected modeſty* and *profound reſpectfulneſs* of this letter; where his lordſhip owns, that every body has more judgment and capacity than he, and, with all humility, ſubmits his

poor

poor opinion to that of her ROYAL HIGHNESS, and, at the ſame time, lets her know that this *poor opinion*, which he ſo *ſubmits*, ſhall entirely *govern* him in his behaviour towards her. And the perfect ſelf approbation he diſcovers, after lamenting the miſtake of his judgment, is no leſs ridiculous. For he plainly intimates ſome expectation, that ſhe will ſend for him again, and confeſs the wiſdom of the ſenſeleſs advice he had given her. I make no ſcruple to call his lordſhip's advice *ſenſeleſs*. For how unworthy ſoever he might think me of the extraordinary affection the PRINCESS had for me, he could not hope (unleſs he were really the ſimpleton he ſays he is) that what had lately happened would be a means to cure her of it in any degree: and he muſt know, that while ſhe retained that affection, ſhe could not part with me, without *extreme unhappineſs* to herſelf. And what had he to propoſe, as a compenſation to her for this unhappineſs? Not the *inward ſatisfaction*, nor the *outward glory* of having obeyed any law of GOD or of

the land, by removing me from her; but only the *empty* advantage of putting an end to their MAJESTIES *open* diſpleaſure with her; a diſpleaſure, which did her no real hurt, and which, being ſo occaſioned as it was, gained her credit with every mortal that had a heart.

The PRINCESS was not impoſed upon by his lordſhip's *duty* or *zeal* or *paſſion*, for her proſperity. She ſent him the following anſwer to his letter.

To the earl of ROCHESTER.

'I give you many thanks for the com-
'pliments and expreſſions of ſervice which
'you make me, in your letter; which I
'ſhould be much better pleas'd with, than
'I am, if I had any reaſon to think them
'ſincere.

'It is a great mortification to me, to
'find, that I ſtill continue under the miſ-
'fortune of the QUEEN's diſpleaſure. I
'had hopes, in time, the occaſion of it
'would have appeared as little reaſonable
'to the QUEEN, as it has always done to

 me.

'me. And if you would have perſuaded
'me of the ſincerity of your intentions,
'as you ſeem to deſire, you muſt give me
'leave to ſay, I cannot think it very hard
'for you to convince me of it, by the ef-
'fects. And till then I muſt beg leave to
'be excuſed, if I am apt to think, this
'great mortification, which has been given
'me, cannot have proceeded from the
'QUEEN's own temper, who, I am per-
'ſuaded, is both more juſt in herſelf, than
'that comes to, as well as more kind to

'*Your very affectionate friend,*

'ANNE.'

And now the buſineſs of his lordſhip was to make the QUEEN's order be complied with. He took great pains in it himſelf; and all the ladies of the bedchamber were employed either to ſpeak or write to their relations and acquaintance. And this matter was ſo well followed, that, at laſt, the QUEEN herſelf ſent to my lady GRACE

PIERPOINT, *to desire that she would not go to the* PRINCESS; adding, *that if she did, she should not come to* her, *for she would see no body that went to her sister.* My lady GRACE's answer was. *That she thought she owed a respect to the* PRINCESS; *that she had been civilly treated by her; and that if her* MAJESTY *would not allow her to pay her duty to her, she would go no more to the* QUEEN, *and the oftner to the* PRINCESS.

But this generous example of refusing meanly to submit to an unreasonable order, was followed by very few, except those whom my lord MARLBOROUGH and I engaged to pay the PRINCESS all the respect possible. Two or three jacobite ladies also came to her, because (as it was easy to observe) all of that interest rejoiced much at the quarrel.

My lady THANET was one of the first, who, like my lord ROCHESTER (and I conclude, not without his advice) made her excuse to the PRINCESS by letter. I cannot now find it; but you may guess at the contents of it by the PRINCESS's answer, which was this.

To

To the dowager countess of THANET.

'It is no small addition to my unhappi-
'ness in the QUEEN's displeasure, that I
'am deprived, by it, of the satisfaction of
'seeing my friends; especially of such as
'seem desirous to see me, and to find by
'those late commands, which her MA-
'JESTY has given you, that her unkindness
'to me is to have no end. The only com-
'fort I have in these great hardships, is,
'to think, how little I have deserved them
'from the QUEEN. And that thought,
'I hope, will help me to support them
'with less impatience.

'I am the less surprised at the strictness
'ness of the QUEEN's command to you,
'upon this occasion, since I have found
'she can be so very unkind to *&c.*

It was almost a year after this, and when it was of very little use, before lady THANET first, and then lady HYDE, came to wait on the PRINCESS. And their visits afterwards were very rare, and only upon extraordinary

traordinary occaſions, as a lying-in, or ſome great illneſs.

I have already mentioned, beſide this prohibition to viſit the PRINCESS, the taking away of her guards. And theſe were not the only methods deviſed to mortify her. One very ridiculous thing was done with this view, while the PRINCESS was at Bath. The following letter, ſigned by the earl of NOTTINGHAM, ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to the mayor of the town, a tallow-chandler.

SIR,

'The QUEEN has been informed that 'yourſelf and your brethren have attended 'the PRINCESS with the ſame reſpect and 'ceremony, as have been uſually pay'd to 'the ROYAL FAMILY. Perhaps you may 'not have heard what occaſion her MA-'JESTY has had to be diſpleaſed with the 'PRINCESS. And therefore I am com-'manded to acquaint you, that you are not 'for the future to pay her HIGHNESS any 'ſuch reſpect or ceremony, without leave

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‘ from her MAJESTY, who does not doubt
‘ of receiving from you, and your brethren,
‘ this public mark of your duty. I am

Your moſt humble Servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

The KING being abroad when this letter was writ, and the QUEEN being at that time wholly in my lord ROCHESTER's hands, every body concluded, that it was done by his advice. And I am myſelf the more fully perſuaded of it, from the fondneſs he diſcovered for ſuch ſort of pageantry, when (in the beginning of queen ANNE's reign) he made his progreſs, in thoſe parts, and took pains in begging treats, and ſpeeches, from ſuch ſort of people. But it muſt be owned, that his lordſhip had a ſingular taſte for trifling ceremonies. I remember, when he was treaſurer, he made his white ſtaff be carried by his chair-ſide, by a ſervant bare-headed; in this, among other things, ſo very unlike his ſucceſſor, my lord GODOLPHIN, who cut his white ſtaff ſhorter than ordinary, that he might

hide

hide it, by taking it into the chair with him.

But if my lord ROCHESTER believed, as I am perſuaded he did, that this order to the mayor of Bath, would have great weight with the PRINCESS, you will ſee by a ſhort letter from her to me, on the occaſion, how much he was diſappointed.

To lady MARLBOROUGH.

'Dear Mrs. FREEMAN muſt give me 'leave to aſk her, if any thing has hap-'pened to make her uneaſy. I thought 'ſhe looked to night, as if ſhe had the 'ſpleen. And I can't help being in pain 'whenever I ſee her ſo.

'I fancied yeſterday, when the mayor 'failed in the ceremony of going to church 'with me, that he was commanded not to 'do it. I think 'tis a thing to be laughed 'at. And, if they imagine either to vex 'me or gain upon me by ſuch ſort of uſage, 'they will be mightily diſappointed. And 'I hope theſe fooliſh things they do, will 'every day ſhow people more and more, 'what they are, and that they truly deſerve

'the name your faithful MORLEY has giv-
'en them.'

Another fooliſh thing, that was done by the ſame advice, as I ſuppoſe, was ſending to the miniſter of St. James's church, where the PRINCESS uſed to go (while ſhe lived at Berkeley houſe) to forbid them to lay the text upon her cuſhion, or take any more notice of her than of other people. But the miniſter refuſing to obey without ſome order from the crown in writing, which they did not care to give, that noble deſign dropt.

After all theſe notable efforts to ſubdue the PRINCESS had been employed without ſucceſs, and when we were got again, as I thought, into a ſettled, quiet way, at Berkeley-houſe, my lord ROCHESTER attempted once more to bring about his purpoſe, by a ſtratagem. He came to Sir BENJAMIN BATHURST, and to others of the PRINCESS's family, inſinuating to them, *that if the* PRINCESS *would put me away, he was perſuaded, the* QUEEN *would in ſome time be prevailed upon to let her take me again*; which was altogether improbable, and indeed ridiculous; becauſe my only pre-

tended

tended fault was being my lord MARLBOROUGH's wife, a fault which I could neither excuſe, nor extenuate, nor repent of.

The PRINCESS conſidered this project as nothing more than a new civil plot of my lord ROCHESTER's. However ſhe was reſolved to leave nothing undone on her part; and therefore, knowing that my lady FITZHARDING could ſpeak more freely to the QUEEN than any body elſe, whom ſhe could employ, ſhe ſent for her and repeated to her my lord ROCHESTER's propoſal, deſiring her to acquaint the QUEEN, *that from what his lordſhip had ſaid, ſhe had been flattering herſelf, ſhe had miſtaken her* MAJESTY's *laſt words; and that if ſhe might hope his lordſhip had any ground for his opinion, ſhe ſhould be very ready to give her* MAJESTY *any ſatisfaction of that ſort.* Upon the delivery of this meſſage, the QUEEN fell into a great paſſion, and ſaid, *her ſiſter had not miſtaken her, for ſhe never would ſee her, upon any other terms, than parting with me, not for a time, but for ever,* adding, *that ſhe was a* QUEEN *and would be obeyed.* Which fine ſentence, my lady FITZHARDING confeſſed,

the QUEEN repeated ſeveral times in their converſation; and her ladyſhip ſeemed to find great fault with the QUEEN's manner of ſpeaking upon that occaſion; though excepting this time, my lady appeared to be a very good courtier.

The PRINCESS, after this, continued at Berkeley-houſe in a very quiet way. For there was nothing more to be done, unleſs they would ſtop her revenue, which doubtleſs they would have attempted, had they thought it practicable. But my lord GODOLPHIN was then firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, a man eſteemed very uſeful to the ſervice, and who, they knew, would quit upon any ſuch orders. And they could not eaſily have found a perſon with qualities fit for that employment, who would have thought it conſiſtent with the honour or ſafety to take a place, which another had left upon ſuch an account; and at the ſame time refuſe paying the revenue ſettled by an act of parliament on the next heir to the crown.

I remember nothing more that happened of any moment relating to this Diſagreement, till juſt before the QUEEN's death.

I ſhall only obſerve, that notwithſtanding all the hariſh things done to the PRINCE

and

and PRINCESS, they never failed in the leaſt thing, which their friends thought proper for them to do, to ſhow reſpect to the KING and QUEEN.

Particularly, on the KING's return from Flanders, the PRINCE ſent one of his family to preſent *his humble duty to his* MAJESTY, and to acquaint him, *That the* PRINCESS *having had the misfortune, during his abſence, to receive many publick marks of the* QUEEN'S *diſpleaſure, he did not know whether it were proper for him to come to his* MAJESTY, *as formerly, without endeavouring firſt to receive his* MAJESTY'S *commands, and to know how far it might be agreeable to him.*

The duke of GLOUCESTER alſo waited ſeveral times on her MAJESTY, who made a great ſhow of kindneſs to *him*, and gave him rattles, and ſeveral play-things, which were conſtantly put down in the gazette. And whenever the duke was ſick, ſhe ſent a bed-chamber woman to Camden-houſe to enquire how he did. But this compliment was made in ſo offenſive a manner to the PRINCESS, that I have often wondred how any mortal could bear it with the patience ſhe

did. For whoever was ſent, uſed to come without any ceremony into the room, where the PRINCESS herſelf was, and, paſſing by her, as ſhe ſtood or ſat, without taking more notice of her, than if ſhe were a rocker, go directly up to the duke, and make their ſpeech to him, or to the nurſe, as he lay in her lap.

I believe it will be allowed, that there was a good deal of inſolence and ill-breeding in this behaviour; and that the QUEEN might, with ſafety to all her dignity, have found means to ſatisfy herſelf about the duke of GLOUCESTER's health, without ſuffering to be done to the PRINCESS, what no body before ever thought of, and what no private perſon in this country would bear from another. And yet the return, which the PRINCESS, when ſhe came to the crown, made to this rudeneſs of the QUEEN's women, was to give them penſions; a thing which the KING himſelf grew weary of doing ſome time before he died.

For ſeveral months before queen MARY fell ſick of the ſmall-pox, the PRINCESS, think-

thinking herſelf with child, ſtayed conſtantly on one floor, by her phyſicians advice, lying very much upon a couch to prevent the miſfortune of miſcarrying. However upon the news of the QUEEN's dangerous indiſpoſition, ſhe ſent a lady of her bed-chamber to preſent her humble duty to her, and to deſire *that her* MAJESTY *would believe ſhe was extremely concerned for her illneſs*: adding, *that if her* MAJESTY *would allow her the happineſs of waiting on her, ſhe would, notwithſtanding the condition ſhe was in, run any hazard for that ſatisfaction.*

This meſſage was delivered to lady DERBY, who, having carried it in to her MAJESTY, came out again ſome time after, and ſaid, *That the* KING *would ſend an anſwer the next day.* Accordingly my lady DERBY then wrote to the ſame lady, who had brought the meſſage, the following lines.

MADAM,

'I am commanded by the KING and
'QUEEN to tell you, they deſire you would
'let the PRINCESS know they both thank her
'for ſending and deſiring to come: But, it
'being thought ſo neceſſary to keep the

'QUEEN

'QUEEN as quiet as poſſible, hope ſhe will
'defer it. I am,

MADAM,

Your ladyſhip's
moſt humble ſervant,
E. DERBY.

'Pray, madam, preſent my humble
'duty to the PRINCESS.

This civil anſwer, and my lady DERBY's poſtſcript, made me conclude, more than if the college of phyſicians had told it me, that the diſeaſe was mortal. And as I knew that ſeveral people, and even one of the PRINCESS's own family, were allowed to ſee the QUEEN, I was alſo fully perſuaded, that the deferring the PRINCESS's coming was only to leave room for continuing the quarrel, in caſe the QUEEN ſhould chance to recover, or for reconciliation with the KING, (if that ſhould be thought convenient) in caſe of the QUEEN's death.

During all the time of the QUEEN's illneſs to her deceaſe, the PRINCESS ſent every day to enquire how ſhe did; and once, I am ſure, her MAJESTY heard of it; be-

cauſe

cauſe my lady FITZHARDING, who was charged with the meſſage, and who had more deſire than ordinary to ſee the QUEEN, broke in, whether they would or not, and delivered it to her, endeavouring to expreſs in how much concern the PRINCESS was: to which the QUEEN returned no anſwer but a cold thanks. Nor, though ſhe received the ſacrament in her illneſs, did ſhe ever ſend the leaſt meſſage to the PRINCESS, except that in my lady DERBY's letter, which perhaps her MAJESTY knew nothing of.

How this conduct to a ſiſter could ſuit with the character of a devout QUEEN, I am at a loſs to know. For there is nothing more plain in ſcripture, than the vth *chapter* of St. *Matthew*, ℣ 23, and 24. *Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remembreſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; firſt be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.*

I will ſuppoſe, for argument ſake, (though I think it ſcarce poſſible) that the QUEEN might have ſo wrong an underſtanding, as

to

to think, ſhe had no reparation to make, and that the PRINCESS had injured her, in not being her ſlave: yet, even in that caſe, there was ſomething omitted; for we are taught *to forgive the treſpaſſes againſt us, as we expect to be forgiven.*

Upon the death of the QUEEN, the PRINCESS, by advice of my lord SUNDERLAND and others, wrote the following letter to the KING.

'SIR,

'I beg your MAJESTY's favourable ac-
'ceptance of my ſincere and hearty ſorrow
'for your great affliction in the loſs of the
'QUEEN. And I do aſſure your MAJESTY,
'I am as ſenſibly touched with this ſad
'misfortune, as if I had never been ſo un-
'happy, as to have fallen into her diſplea-
'ſure.

'It is my earneſt deſire, your MAJESTY
'would give me leave to wait upon you, as
'ſoon as it can be without inconveniency
'to you, and without danger of encreaſing
'your affliction, that I may have an op-
'portunity

'portunity myſelf, not only of repeating
'this, but of aſſuring your MAJESTY of
'my real intentions to omit no occaſion of
'giving you conſtant proofs of my ſincere
'reſpect and concern for your perſon and
'intereſt, as becomes,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY'S

moſt affectionate ſiſter

and ſervant,

ANNE.

The KING had ſenſe enough to know, that it would be impoſſible to continue any longer an open difference with the PRINCESS, without expoſing himſelf to daily ſlights, and a manifeſt diſregard for his ſovereign pleaſure; for he could not hope that the nobility of England would be hindered, now the QUEEN was dead, from paying reſpect to a PRINCESS, who was next heir to him by act of parliament, and who, if title by blood had taken place, would have had the crown before him; and he was well aware, that every body, who had a mind to ſhew

they did not care for him, would certainly do it by making their court to her.

Quickly after this letter therefore, the PRINCESS, with the KING's conſent, and at a time which he appointed, waited on him at Kenſington, and was received with extraordinary civility.

And now, it being publickly known, that the quarrel was made up, nothing was to be ſeen but crouds of people, of all ſorts, flocking to Berkeley-houſe, to pay their reſpects to the PRINCE and PRINCESS: a ſudden alteration, which, I remember, occaſioned the half-witted lord CAERNARVON to ſay one night to the PRINCESS, as he ſtood cloſe by her, in the circle, *I hope your* HIGHNESS *will remember that I came to wait upon you, when none of this company did*; which cauſed a great deal of mirth.

I never heard of any body that oppoſed this reconciliation, except my lord PORTLAND. But the perſon who wholly managed the affair between the KING and PRINCESS, was my lord SUNDERLAND. He had, upon all occaſions relating to her, ſhew-

ed himſelf a man of ſenſe and breeding; and before there was any thought of the QUEEN's dying had deſigned to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make up the breach; in which however I am perſuaded, he could not have ſucceeded during the QUEEN's life. Her death made it eaſy to him (for the reaſons I have mentioned) to bring the KING to a reconcilement; and he alſo perſuaded his MAJESTY to give the PRINCESS St. James's-houſe.

But this and ſome other favours granted her, at his lordſhip's requeſt, were only to ſave appearances, and for political views. It was very evident that the KING did not care, any real reſpect ſhould be ſhewn to her HIGHNESS. For though to his death ſhe never omitted any thing that was due to him from her, and, by his order, went ſeveral times to wait on him at Kenſington, no ceremony was obſerved to her, more than to any other lady; till the thing had cauſed ſome diſcourſe in town. After which my lord JERSEY waited upon her down ſtairs once or twice, but not oftner.

If

If any body ever came to meet her, it was a page of the back-ſtairs, or ſome perſon whoſe face was not known. And the PRINCESS, upon theſe occaſions, has waited an hour and half, juſt upon the ſame foot with the reſt of the company; and not the leaſt excuſe was made for it.

I confeſs, for my own part, that in the point of *reſpect to the* KING *(and to the* QUEEN *when living)* I thought the PRINCESS did a great deal too much; and it often made me very uneaſy. For I could not endure to have her do any thing, that I would not have done in her place. And all the friends I ever had in my life would not have prevailed with me to make any one ſtep, the PRINCESS did, during the quarrel, except the firſt letter ſhe wrote to the QUEEN, and the laſt meſſage of offering to come to her in her ſickneſs. But a letter which the PRINCESS, after the reconcilement, wrote to the KING upon the taking of Namur, gave me, I think, more concern than any other inſtance of her *reſpectfulneſs*; though it was adviſed by three lords, whoſe

judgments all the world valued. It ran thus,

SIR,

'Though I have been unwilling to give 'you the trouble of a letter upon any other 'occaſion, yet upon one ſo glorious to your 'MAJESTY as the taking of Namur, I 'hope you will give me leave to congratu-'late your good ſucceſs, which don't pleaſe 'me ſo much upon any other account, as 'for the ſatisfaction, that I am ſenſible your 'MAJESTY muſt needs feel in this great 'addition to the reputation of your arms. 'And I beg leave, Sir, to aſſure you, that 'as no body is more nearly concerned in 'your intereſts, ſo no body wiſhes more 'heartily for your happineſs and proſperity 'at home than

'*Your* &c.

ANNE.

This letter (which ſeemed to me ſo unbecoming the PRINCESS to write) ſerved no other purpoſe but to give the KING an op-

portunity of ſhewing his brutal diſregard for the writer; for he never returned any anſwer to it, nor ſo much as a civil meſſage.

Your lordſhip has had ſome ſpecimens of the manner, in which his MAJESTY treated the PRINCE of Denmark before the quarrel. I ſhall now give you one, of his behaviour to him after the reconcilement.

The KING's birth-day coming juſt after the news of the KING of Denmark's death, the PRINCE, who had a great tenderneſs for his brother, was extremely uneaſy at the thought of putting on colours ſo ſoon. And the PRINCESS, knowing that it had been the cuſtom in former reigns, to wait upon the KING, on a birth-day, without coloured clothes, when the mourning was very deep, found means to get my lord ALBEMARLE to aſk the KING's leave, that the PRINCE might be admitted, in his mourning, to wiſh his MAJESTY joy. The anſwer was, *That the* KING *would not ſee him, unleſs he came in colours*; and the PRINCE was perſuaded to comply, though he did it with great uneaſineſs.

I believe

I believe I could fill as many ſheets, as I have already written, with relating the brutalities, that were done to the PRINCE and PRINCESS in that reign. The KING was indeed ſo ill-natured and ſo little poliſhed by education, that neither in great things nor in ſmall had he the manners of a gentleman. I ſhall give you an inſtance of his worſe than vulgar behaviour at his own table, when the PRINCESS dined with him.

It was in the beginning of his reign, and when ſhe was with child of the DUKE of Glouceſter. There happened to be a plate of peaſe, the firſt that had been ſeen that year. The KING, without offering the PRINCESS the leaſt ſhare of them, eat them every one up himſelf. Whether he offered any to the QUEEN, I cannot ſay; but he might do that ſafely enough, for he knew, ſhe durſt not touch them. The PRINCESS confeſſed, when ſhe came home, ſhe had ſo much mind to the peaſe, that ſhe was afraid to look at them, and yet could hardly keep her eyes off them.

But I ſhall conclude this ſubject of the KING's conduct towards the PRINCESS, with ſome facts of a deeper concern to her than thoſe incivilities I have juſt mention'd, and they will ſhow how rightly ſhe judged, when ſhe formerly refuſed to leave the affair of her maintenance to his generoſity.

When the DUKE of Glouceſter was arrived at the age, to be put into men's hands, the KING inſinuated to ſuch members of the parliament, as he knew were deſirous to have the duke handſomly ſettled, that it would require near 50000 *l.* a year. And, at the ſame time, he promiſed other perſons, whom he knew it would pleaſe, that he would pay queen MARY in France her ſettlement, which was alſo 50000 *l.* a year. And theſe ſteps he took, in order to obtain an addition of a 100000 *l.* a year to his civil liſt.

The addition was granted, yet he never paid one ſhilling to the QUEEN: And, as to the DUKE, the KING not only kept him in women's hands a good while after the new revenue was granted, but, when his HIGH-

NESS's family was ſettled, would give him no more than 1 5000 *l.* a year. Nay, of this ſmall allowance, he refuſed to advance one quarter, though it was abſolutely wanted to buy plate and furniture: So that the PRINCESS was forced to be at that expence herſelf.

But this was not all. The KING (influenced, I ſuppoſe, in this particular, by my lord SUNDERLAND) ſent the PRINCESS word, that, though he intended to put in all the preceptors, he would leave it to her to chuſe the reſt of the ſervants, except one, who was to be deputy governor and gentleman of the DUKE's bed-chamber, (which was Mr. SAYERS.)

This meſſage was ſo humane, and of ſo different an air from any thing the PRINCESS had been uſed to, that it gave her an extreme pleaſure; and ſhe immediately ſet herſelf to provide proper perſons, and of the moſt conſideration, for the ſeveral places. Mr. BOSCAWEN and ſecretary VERNON's ſon were to be grooms of the bed-chamber; the ſons of the earls of BRIDGEWATER and

BERKELEY were to be pages of honour, and ſo on. In the mean time the KING was in no haſte to finiſh the affair of the DUKE's eſtabliſhment; and a little before he left England to go make the campaign, told my lord MARLBOROUGH, (who was now reſtored to the army, and was to be governor to the DUKE of Glouceſter) *that he would ſend a liſt, from abroad, of the ſervants he would have in the* DUKE'S *family*, not in the leaſt regarding the former meſſage, he had ſent to the PRINCESS; which my lord obſerving, took the liberty to put his MAJESTY in mind of it, adding, that the PRINCESS, upon the credit of that meſſage, had engaged her promiſes to ſeveral perſons; and that, not to be able to perform thoſe promiſes, would be ſo great a mortification, as he hoped his MAJESTY would not give her, at a time, when any thing of trouble might do her prejudice, ſhe being then with child. Hereupon the KING fell into a great paſſion, and ſaid, *ſhe ſhould not be queen before her time, and he* would *make the liſt of what ſervants the* DUKE *ſhould have.*

The

The KING was ſo peremptory, that my lord MARLBOROUGH could ſay no more, and had no expedient left, but to get my lord ALBEMARLE to try to bring him to reaſon; which his lordſhip promiſed to do. And accordingly he took my lord MARLBOROUGH's liſt of the perſons the PRINCESS had choſen, and carried it with him into Holland. In concluſion that liſt was approved, with very few alterations. But this was, without queſtion, not ſo much owing to the KING's goodneſs, or my lord ALBEMARLE's perſuaſions, (though I believe his lordſhip did take pains in this matter) as to the happy choice the PRINCESS had made of the ſervants. For the KING, upon cool conſideration, muſt perceive, that he could not ſtrike out of the liſt a greater number than he did, without hurting himſelf, more than the PRINCESS. He only made my lord RABY's brother an equerry, and appointed, to be gentlemen-waiters, two or three perſons, who had ſerved the late QUEEN in ſuch like ſtations, and had penſions on that account. And it was to ſave this money

that the KING did ſo ungentleman-like a thing, as to force the PRINCESS to fail in ſome of her engagements. And he gave afterwards another remarkable proof of his good management; for upon the news of the DUKE of Glouceſter's death, he ſent orders, by the very firſt poſt, to have all his ſervants diſcarded; a diligence of frugality, which was ſurely not very decent in a king. It was by the contrivance of lord MARLBOROUGH, aſſiſted by lord ALBEMARLE, that the ſervants received their ſalaries to the quarter-day after the DUKE died.

And now, after all I have related of the KING, and after ſo much diſlike, as I have expreſſed of his character and conduct, you will perhaps hardly believe me, in what I am going to ſay: Yes, your lordſhip *will* believe me; for you will judge of *my* heart, by the make and temper of your *own*. When the KING came to die, I felt nothing of that ſatisfaction, which I once thought I ſhould have had upon this occaſion. And my lord and lady JERSEY's writing and

ſending

ſending perpetually to give an account, as his breath grew ſhorter and ſhorter, filled me with horror. I thought I would loſe the beſt employment in any court, ſooner than act ſo odious a part. And the KING, who had given me ſo much cauſe to hate him, in that condition I ſincerely pitied: So little is it in my nature to retain reſentment againſt any mortal, (how unjuſt ſoever he may have been) in whom *the will to injure* is no more.

§ II.

THE KING died, and the PRINCESS of Denmark took his place. This elevation of my miſtreſs to the throne brought me into a new ſcene of life, and into a new ſort of conſideration with all thoſe, whoſe attention, either by curioſity or ambition, was turned to politicks and the court. Hitherto my favour with her ROYAL HIGHNESS, though it had ſometimes furniſhed matter of converſation to the publick, had been of no moment to the affairs of the nation,

tion, ſhe herſelf having no ſhare in the councils, by which they were managed. But from this time, I began to be look'd upon as a perſon of conſequence, without whoſe approbation, at leaſt, neither places, nor penſions, nor honours were beſtowed by the crown. The intimate friendſhip, with which the QUEEN was known to honour me, afforded a plauſible foundation for this opinion: And I believe therefore, it will be a ſurprize to many, to be told, that the firſt important ſtep, which her MAJESTY took, after her acceſſion to the government, was againſt my wiſhes and inclination: I mean, *her throwing herſelf and her affairs almoſt entirely into the hands of the tories.*

I ſhall dwell the longer, and be the more particular upon the ſubject of my diſagreement with her MAJESTY about parties, that I may expoſe the injuſtice of thoſe whigs, who, after the great change in 1710, accuſed me of being the ruin of their cauſe; a cauſe, that, in her reign, would have been always too low, to be capable of a fall, but for the zeal and diligence, with which I

ſeiz'd every opportunity to raiſe and eſtabliſh it; which, in the end, proved the ruin of my favour with her MAJESTY.

The QUEEN had from her infancy imbibed the moſt unconquerable prejudices againſt the whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as republicans; who hated the very ſhadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the church of England. This averſion to the whole party had been confirmed by the ill uſage ſhe had met with from her ſiſter and king WILLIAM, which though perhaps more owing to lord ROCHESTER, than to any man then living, was now to be all charged to the account of the whigs. And prince GEORGE, her huſband, who had alſo been ill treated, in that reign, threw into the ſcale his reſentments.

On the other hand, the tories had the advantage, not only of the QUEEN's early preposſeſſion in their favour, but of their having aſſiſted her in the late reign, in the affair of her *ſettlement*. It was indeed evident, that they had done this, more in oppoſition

to

to king WILLIAM, than from any real reſpect for the PRINCESS of Denmark. But ſtill they had ſerved her. And the winter before ſhe came to the crown, they had in the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition to the KING, and in proſpect of his death, paid her more than uſual civilities and attendance.

It is no great wonder therefore, all theſe things conſidered, that as ſoon as ſhe was ſeated in the throne, the tories (whom ſhe uſually called by the agreeable name of the church-party) became the diſtinguiſhed objects of the royal favour.

Dr. SHARP, archbiſhop of York, was pitched upon by herſelf to preach her coronation ſermon, and to be her chief counſellor in church-matters; and her privy-council was filled with tories. My lord NORMANBY (ſoon after duke of BUCKINGHAM) the earls of JERSEY and NOTTINGHAM, Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR, with many others of the high-fliers, were brought into place; Sir NATHAN WRIGHT was continued in poſſeſſion of the great ſeal of England, and the earl of ROCHESTER in the lieutenancy of

Ireland.

Ireland. Theſe were men, who had all a wonderful zeal for the church; a ſort of public merit that eclipſed all other in the eyes of the QUEEN. And I am firmly perſuaded, that notwithſtanding her extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my lord MARLBOROUGH and my lord GODOLPHIN had for many years ſhown to her ſervice, they would not have had ſo great a ſhare of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the tories.

The truth is, though both theſe lords had always the real intereſt of the nation at heart, and had given proof of this, by their conduct in their ſeveral employments, in the late reign, they had been educated in the perſuaſion, that the high-church party were the beſt friends to the conſtitution, both of church and ſtate; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience.

For my own part, I had not the ſame prepoſſeſſions. The *word CHURCH* had never any charm for *me*, in the mouths of thoſe, who made the moſt noiſe with it;

for I could not perceive that they gave any other diſtinguiſhing proof of their regard for the *thing*, than a frequent uſe of the *word*, like a ſpell to enchant weak minds; and a perſecuting zeal againſt diſſenters, and againſt thoſe real friends of the church, who would not admit that *perſecution* was agreeable to its doctrine. And as to ſtate-affairs, many of theſe churchmen ſeemed to me, to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavoured, during the laſt reign, to undermine that very government, which they had contributed to eſtabliſh.

I was heartily ſorry therefore, that, for the ſake of ſuch churchmen, others ſhould be removed from their employments, who had been firm to the principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to ſupport the QUEEN, and promote the welfare of our country, than the wrong-headed politicians that ſucceeded them.

I reſolved therefore, from the very beginning of the QUEEN's reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impreſſions in her mind more favourable to the

whigs; and though my inſtances with her had not at firſt any conſiderable effect, I believe, I may venture to ſay, it was, in ſome meaſure, owing to them, that her MAJESTY did, againſt her own inclinations, continue ſeveral of this party in office. And it is well known, that when the QUEEN, in the firſt year of her reign, had determined to create four new peers, the lords GRANVILLE, GUERNSEY, GOWER and CONWAY, I prevailed that Mr. HERVEY (the preſent earl of Briſtol) might be a *fifth*, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the tories, and eſpecially of the *four* above-named; who for a while refuſed to accept of the peerage, if Mr. HERVEY, a whig, were admitted to the ſame honour.

But how difficult a taſk I preſcribed to myſelf, when I undertook to moderate her MAJESTY's partiality to the tories, and to engage her to a better opinion of their oppoſites, will abundantly appear from the following letter, which I had the honour to receive from her, about half a year after her acceſſion to the throne.

St.

St. James's, ſaturday the 24 *Oct^r.*

'I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs.
'FREEMAN's, that I was bleſt with yeſ-
'terday, that ſhe liked *my ſpeech*, but I can-
'not help being extremely concern'd, you
'are ſo partial to the whigs, becauſe I would
'not have you, and your * poor, unfor-
'tunate, faithful MORLEY differ in opinion
'in the leaſt thing. What I ſaid, when
'I writ laſt upon this ſubject, does not pro-
'ceed from any inſinuations of the other
'party; but I know the principles of the
'church of England, and I know thoſe of
'the whigs, and it is that, and no other
'reaſon, which makes me think as I do,
'of the laſt. And upon my word, my dear
'Mrs. FREEMAN, you are mightily miſ-
'taken in your notion of a true whig: For
'the character, you give of them, does not
'in the leaſt belong to them, but to the
'church. But I will ſay no more on this
'ſubject,

* The QUEEN began to ſtile herſelf after this manner, upon the death of the DUKE of Glouceſter.

‘ ſubject, only beg, for my poor ſake, that
‘ you would not ſhow more countenance to
‘ thoſe, you ſeem to have ſo much inclina-
‘ tion for, than to the church party. Since
‘ you have ſtaid ſo long at Windſor, I wiſh
‘ now for your own ſake, that you would
‘ ſtay till after *my lord mayor's day*; for if
‘ you are in town, *you can't avoid going to*
‘ *the ſhow*, and being in the country is a juſt
‘ excuſe; and, I think, one would be glad
‘ of any to avoid ſo troubleſom a buſineſs.
‘ I am at this time in great haſte, and
‘ therefore can ſay no more to my dear dear
‘ Mrs. FREEMAN, but that I am moſt paſ-
‘ ſionately her's *.

* The QUEEN very ſeldom dated her letters fully, and the year is not mentioned in the date of this, but it is evident from the contents, that it was written in 1702, the firſt year of her MAJESTSY's reign; for ſhe went that year to my lord mayor's ſhow, and nothing but *her* going could have made it unavoidable for *me* to go, if I were in town. And whoever will give themſelves the trouble of the enquiry, will find that the 24th of October fell that year on a ſaturday, and that the QUEEN made her ſpeech to the parliament a few days before.

As my early zeal for the whigs is incontestably manifeſt from what her majeſty here ſays to me, ſo, I think, it will be no leſs evident to any one who reflects on my ſituation at that time, that this zeal could proceed from nothing but conviction of the goodneſs of the cauſe I eſpouſed.

For, as to private intereſt, the whigs could have done nothing for my advantage more than the tories. I needed not the aſſiſtance of either to ingratiate me with the QUEEN. She had both before and ſince her acceſſion, given the moſt unqueſtionable proofs, that ſhe conſidered me, not only as a moſt faithful ſervant, but as her dear friend. I have mentioned nothing of her extreme goodneſs to me ſince the breaking out of the quarrel between her ſiſter and her, that I might not interrupt the relation of that matter in which my chief aim was the juſtification of my miſtreſs's conduct and my own upon that occaſion. Her letters to me afterwards (of which I have great numbers ſtill by me) were in the ſame ſtrain of tenderneſs as thoſe you have read; and upon her coming

coming to the crown, ſhe had not only made me her groom of the ſtole, and keeper of the privy purſe, but had given the command of the army to my lord MARLBOROUGH, and the treaſurer's ſtaff to my lord GODOLPHIN, to whoſe ſon my eldeſt daughter was married.

It is plain therefore that I could have no motive of private intereſt to biaſs me to the whigs. Every body muſt ſee, that, had I conſulted that oracle about the choice of a party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the ſtream of my miſtreſs's inclination and prejudices. This would have been the ſureſt way to ſecure my favour with her.

Nor had I any particular obligations to the whigs that ſhould bend me to their ſide rather than to the other. On the contrary, they had treated me very hardly, and I had reaſon to look upon them as my perſonal enemies, at the ſame time that I ſaw the tories ready to compliment me, and to pay me court. Even the pride of my lord ROCHESTER condeſcended to write me a very fine

piece, when my lady CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT died, that his daughter, my lady DALKEITH, might be a lady of the bed-chamber in her place. I confeſs indeed, I was not a little ſurprized at this application from his lordſhip. I thank GOD, I have had experience enough of my own temper to be very ſure, I can forgive any injury, when the perſon, from whom I have received it, ſhows any thing like repentance. But could I ever be ſo unfortunate, as to perſecute another without cauſe, as my lord ROCHESTER did me, I am confident, that even want of bread could not induce me to aſk a favour of that perſon. But ſurely his lordſhip had ſomething very uncommon in his temper.

What induced him to the preſent condeſcenſion, was, I ſuppoſe, his late experience, that I did not make uſe of my influence with the QUEEN, to gratify any perſonal pique or reſentment. For upon the QUEEN's acceſſion to the throne, lady HYDE had ſpoke to me, that ſhe might be a lady of the bed-chamber, and I had ſerved her

very

very ſincerely and effectually. For though the QUEEN did not like her, yet, as her MAJESTY had been pleaſed to forgive the ill behaviour of my lord ROCHESTER to her, during the reigns of king CHARLES, king JAMES, and queen MARY, I thought it reaſonable that his ſon's wife ſhould be a lady of the bed-chamber. There was, in truth, a particular pleaſure in ſerving my lady HYDE in this inſtance on her own account; for in my life I never ſaw any mortal have ſuch a paſſion for any thing, as ſhe had to be in that poſt. While the thing was depending, ſhe had ſo much concern upon her, that ſhe never ſpoke to me upon the ſubject without bluſhing. And after it was granted, ſhe made me more expreſſions, than ever I had from any body on any occaſion. Among other compliments, I had this letter from her.

Monday morning.

'I have been three times in the draw-
'ing room, in hopes to meet your ladyſhip
'there, that I might myſelf tell you, how
'extreme ſenſible I am of your ladyſhip's

'favour to me. You will add another, if
'you will forgive my impatience, that can-
'not ſtay longer without thanking you my-
'ſelf, though Mrs. LOWTHER has under-
'taken for me. I am very happy in my
'requeſt being granted, and your ladyſhip
'may depend, any command of your's ſhall
'be obeyed, for I will not, without your
'leave, brag even to my lady HARIOTTE,
'who did me the favour to ſpeak to your
'ladyſhip. I am not good at ſaying much,
'but I am ſure it will be a pleaſure to me
'to ſhew you in every thing I can, how
'faithfully and ſincerely I am

Your ladyſhip's humble ſervant,

J. HYDE.

In what manner this lady treated me afterwards, is not worth the while to mention.

As to my lord ROCHESTER's requeſt in behalf of my lady DALKEITH, it could not be granted; becauſe in reality there was no vacancy. The QUEEN had reſolved to have no more than ten ladies, and the number was complete. There had indeed been

eleven

eleven for ſome ſhort time; but this had been occaſioned by the ducheſs of SOMERSET's declining to accept one of theſe places when it was offered her at the ſettling of the QUEEN's family, and ſoon after deſiring to have it, when they were all filled. As ſhe was the firſt proteſtant ducheſs of England I perſuaded the QUEEN to be pleaſed, in compliment to her grace, to have eleven ladies for the little time lady CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So that when her MAJESTY complied, it was with full purpoſe that the number of her ladies ſhould be only ten after lady CHARLOTTE's death. And this anſwer having been given to ſeveral others who had ſolicited to ſucceed lady CHARLOTTE, my lord ROCHESTER could have no reaſon to be offended, that the like excuſe was made to him, with regard to his daughter.

I have been the more particular on this affair, that it may appear, the refuſal my lord ROCHESTER met with was not owing to any reſentment of mine, againſt him or

his family. And I do aſſure you moſt ſincerely, that I could ſo entirely have forgotten all his lordſhip's ill treatment of me, as to have acted in concert and friendſhip with him, if I had thought he would have followed the QUEEN's true intereſt. But the gibberiſh of that party about non-reſiſtance and paſſive-obedience and hereditary right, I could not think to forebode any good to my miſtreſs, whoſe title reſted upon a different foundation. On the other hand, the principles profeſſed by thoſe called whigs ſeemed to me rational, entirely tending to the preſervation of the liberties of the ſubject, and no way to the prejudice of the church as by law eſtabliſhed; for which, I believe I may without vanity venture to ſay, I had at leaſt as much reſpect, as the duke of BUCKINGHAM or Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR. And as this was really my way of thinking concerning the two parties, it would have been contrary to the frankneſs of my temper and to the obligations of that friendſhip with which the QUEEN honoured me, not to have told her my ſentiments without reſerve.

reſerve. Nay I had her expreſs command ſo to do. She had often urged me to it, in almoſt the ſame terms ſhe uſes in a letter of her own hand-writing, which I have now before me.

‘ You can never give me any greater
‘ proof of your friendſhip than in telling
‘ me your mind freely in all things, which
‘ I do beg you to do, *&c.*

I did therefore ſpeak very freely and very frequently to her MAJESTY upon the ſubject of whig and tory, according to my conception of their different views and principles. It was at firſt to little effect: and perhaps I ſhould never have ſucceeded ſo far as I did, if the leaders of the tories had not, by the heat and agitation with which they over-acted their part, expoſed that monopolizing ambition, which ought to have been better concealed under the cloak of zeal for the church.

The church of England, one would naturally think, could not be in any *immediate* danger

danger of periſhing under the care of ſuch *a nurſing mother* as the QUEEN, whoſe affection to it was never doubted, and who, for it's better ſecurity, had choſen it's moſt renowned champions to be of her miniſtry and council. Nevertheleſs in the very firſt new parliament, after her MAJESTY's acceſſion, it was thought neceſſary with all diligence to provide new ſtrength, new ſupports for this flouriſhing church, as if it had been in the moſt tottering and declining condition.

One cannot better repreſent the noble ſpirit, with which the zealots began their play than by tranſcribing ſome part of the commons addreſs to the QUEEN, in anſwer to her moſt gracious ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſions.

— 'Your MAJESTY has been always 'a moſt illuſtrious ornament to this church, 'and has been expoſed to great hazards for 'it, and therefore we promiſe our ſelves, 'that, in your MAJESTY's reign, we 'ſhall ſee it perfectly reſtored to it's due

'rights

'rights and privileges, and ſecured in the
'ſame to poſterity; which is only to be done
'by diveſting thoſe men of the power, who
'have ſhown they want not the will to
'deſtroy it.

The QUEEN in her ſpeech had declared her reſolution to defend and maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed. Of *this* they tell her they have no doubt, after her repeated aſſurances. But *this* was not enough. So illuſtrious an ornament of the church muſt not content herſelf with protecting it in it's *legal* rights, but ſhe muſt contribute to reſtore it to it's *due* rights, that is, ſhe muſt reſtore tories and high-churchmen to their *divine* rights and privileges of poſſeſſing all the civil offices in the ſtate, and being the only men elected to ſerve in parliament, to the excluſion of all whigs and low-churchmen, who being enemies of the church, and having a will to deſtroy it, muſt be diveſted of the power to execute their malice.

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That this was the meaning of the addreſs I believe no body doubts; and the *occaſional conformity bill*, which, in conſequence of this zeal for the church, was ſoon brought into parliament, did not aim at excluding from employments the *occaſional* conformiſts only, but all thoſe *conſtant* conformiſts too, who could not reliſh the high-church nonſenſe of promoting religion by perſecution. For as the tories were well acquainted with her MAJESTY'S entire devotion to the church, they deſigned this *bill*, as a *teſt*, whereby ſhe might certainly diſtinguiſh it's friends from it's foes; and they doubted not but ſhe would reckon among the latter whoever ſhould oppoſe ſo religious a ſcheme.

The bill, as every body knows, was carried triumphantly through the houſe of commons; and the PRINCE of Denmark (though himſelf an occaſional conformiſt) was perſuaded to vote for it, in the houſe of lords. However it miſcarried there (I forget how) to the great diſappointment and mortification of the party. Nay it began to be ſuſpected that ſome of the chief men at court were

not

not ſo zealous in the good cauſe as they ſhould be. My lord ROCHESTER was, I think, the firſt of the tory leaders that diſcovered a deep diſcontent with the QUEEN and her adminiſtration. Before the end of the year he reſigned the lieutenancy of Ireland in great wrath, upon her MAJESTY'S being ſo unreaſonable as to preſs him to go thither to attend the affairs of that kingdom, which greatly needed his preſence. For as the revenue, which had been formerly granted was out, it was neceſſary to call a parliament in order to another ſupply; and a parliament could not be held without a lord lieutenant. But when the QUEEN repreſented theſe things to him he told her with great inſolence, that *he would not go into* Ireland, *though ſhe would give the country to him and his ſon*; ſo that he ſeems to have accepted the poſt only that he might reign in Ireland by the miniſtry of his brother KEIGHTLEY, as he hoped to do in England, in perſon. Nor could he, after his reſignation, overcome his anger ſo far as to wait upon the QUEEN or to go

to council; which she observing ordered, after some time, that he should no more be summoned, 'saying, it was not reasonable 'my lord ROCHESTER should come to 'council only when he pleased.'

Perhaps his lordship's unwillingness to leave England might proceed from his zeal for the church, and from his fears lest it should be betrayed in his absence. But it was generally thought, and I believe with good reason, that the true source of his dissatisfaction was the QUEEN's not making him her sole governor and director, and my lord GODOLPHIN's being preferred before him for the treasury: Which, if true, affords a remarkable instance, how much self-love and self-conceit can blind even a man of sense; for such, by his party at least, he was esteemed to be. I don't wonder that he should like power (it is what most people are fond of) or that being related to the QUEEN he should expect a particular consideration. This was very natural and very reasonable, if he had behaved himself to her as he ought: But when one considers, that his relation to her

was by ſuch a ſort of accident, and that his conduct had been ſo very extraordinary, 'tis an amazing thing that he ſhould imagine, he was to domineer over the QUEEN and every body elſe, as he did over his own family.

Whether the church was in any danger or not *before*, it could not be queſtioned by any good churchman, but it *now* began to be in ſome peril when my lord ROCHESTER was no longer in place, nor in the council.

The bill againſt occaſional conformity was revived by the tories the next ſeſſions of parliament; which proceeding, whatever regard it might ſhow for the church, did certainly ſhow little reſpect or gratitude to the QUEEN, who had hitherto ſhowered her favours upon the party. For her MAJESTY having been informed, that this bill had alarmed a great part of her ſubjects, who were otherwiſe perfectly well affected to her government, and no leſs able than zealous to aſſiſt her in carrying on the war againſt the common enemy, had endeavoured in her ſpeech, by the warmeſt expreſſions, to diſſuade

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the parliament from this meaſure, as it might prove a ſource of fatal diviſions at home, where union and harmony were ſo neceſſary in order to the ſucceſs of our affairs abroad.

But the intereſt of the *church*, that is, of *high-churchmen*, was to be preferred before the intereſt of the QUEEN or of the nation, or the preſervation of the liberties of Europe. The bill was therefore brought in again; but, though it had once more an eaſy paſſage through the houſe of commons, it met with the ſame fate as the year before in the houſe of lords.

This new blow to the church was ſoon followed by another, the removal of lord JERSEY and Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR from their employments; and about the ſame time lord NOTTINGHAM reſigned his place of ſecretary of ſtate, becauſe the whigs were too much favoured.

The whigs did indeed begin to be favoured, and with good reaſon. For when they ſaw that my lord MARLBOROUGH proſecuted the common cauſe with ſuch hearty diligence and ſuch unexpected ſucceſs, they,

not-

notwithſtanding the partiality which had been ſhown to their oppoſites, univerſally forgot their reſentments, and no longer conſidering themſelves as an oppreſſed party, ran in with the loudeſt acclamations, extolling his merit and ſervices: And as the trade and money of the nation were chiefly in the hands of thoſe, who eſpouſed the cauſe, in which the miniſtry were then engaged, it is no wonder that my lord GODOLPHIN began to pay them as much regard as the times and the QUEEN's prejudices would permit him to do.

The church in the mean while, it muſt be confeſſed, was in a deplorable condition. The earls of ROCHESTER, JERSEY, and NOTTINGHAM, and Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR out of place, and the whigs coming into favour. It was reſolved therefore the next ſeſſions of parliament to tack the occaſional conformity bill to the money bill, a reſolution which ſhowed the ſpirit of the party in it's true light. But it happened that my lord MARLBOROUGH, in the ſummer before the parliament met, gained the

battle of Blenheim. This was an unfortunate accident; and by the visible dissatisfaction of some people on the news of it, one would have imagined, that instead of beating the French, he had beat the church. And I cannot here omit one remarkable instance of true party spirit in the tories on this occasion. My lord MARLBOROUGH, before he had had sufficient opportunity of showing the greatness of the general, had, for his first successes in the war, been complimented by this very house of commons, as the *retriever of the glory of the English nation*, being then reputed a high churchman. But now that he was thought to look towards the moderate party, his *complete victory* at Blenheim was, in the address of congratulation to the QUEEN, ridiculously paired with Sir GEORGE ROOK's *drawn battle* with the French at sea.

However, neither the glory of this victory, nor the important consequences of it, could be hid, even from the eyes of those who would have been the most willing not to see them. The power of France was

broken by it to a great degree, and the liberties and peace of Europe were in a fair way to be eſtabliſhed upon firm and laſting foundations. The leſs violent part of the tories therefore could not be prevailed with to hazard theſe great and pleaſing hopes, by tacking them to the fortune of the *occaſional conformity bill*. The tack was rejected by the majority of the members, even of this houſe of commons, ſo rich in tories and high churchmen. And though the bill by itſelf was afterwards paſſed in that houſe, it was again thrown out by the lords.

The laſt great wound given to the church this year, was by the QUEEN's taking the privy ſeal from the duke of BUCKINGHAM.

And the next year I prevail'd with her MAJESTY to take the great ſeal from Sir NATHAN WRIGHT, a man deſpiſed by all parties, of no uſe to the crown, and whoſe weak and wretched conduct in the court of *chancery*, had almoſt brought his very office into contempt. His removal however was a great loſs to the church, for which he had

ever been a warm ſtickler. And this loſs was the more ſenſibly felt, as his ſucceſſor, my lord COWPER, was not only of the whig-party, but of ſuch abilities and integrity, as brought a new credit to it in the nation.

But, what was worſe than all theſe miſfortunes, the majority of the houſe of commons in the new parliament of 1705, proved to be whig.

No wonder if, in theſe ſad circumſtances, a loud and piteous cry was raiſed upon the extreme danger of the poor church. A doleful piece, penn'd by ſome of the zealots of the party, and called *the memorial of the church of England*, was printed and ſpread abroad, ſetting forth her melancholy condition and diſtreſs; and much lamentation it occaſioned. But what remedy? There could be no hope of getting an *occaſional conformity bill* paſſed in this parliament. One expedient ſtill remained; and this was, to invite the princeſs SOPHIA of Hanover, the preſent KING's grandmother, to come over and defend the church. Her preſence here, though ſhe would not probably, as being a

lutheran, be very zealous for a bill againſt occaſional conformiſts, yet might happily prove a means to hinder the whigs from bringing in popery and the pretender. A motion was therefore made in the houſe of lords for this invitation; and the neceſſity of it was urged with great ſtrength of argument by the earls of ROCHESTER and NOTTINGHAM, and the other grave men of the party. Not that they had the leaſt hope or the leaſt deſire to carry their point, but being well aſſured that the QUEEN would never conſent to ſuch an invitation, nor pardon her miniſters if they encouraged the deſign, this was a notable ſtratagem to ruin them, either with her MAJESTY, or with the nation; for if in compliance with her prejudices they oppoſed this motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the publick odium upon them, as declared enemies to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

This hopeful ſcheme however did not ſucceed. The whigs oppoſed the invitation, and yet preſerved their credit, to the great mortification of the other party. I

know that my lord GODOLPHIN, and other great men, were much reflected upon by ſome well diſpoſed perſons, for not laying hold of this opportunity, which the tories put into their hands, of more effectually ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of Hanover. But thoſe of the whigs, whoſe anger againſt the miniſter was raiſed on this account, little knew how impracticable the project of *invitation* was, and that the attempt would have only ſerved to make the QUEEN diſcard her miniſtry, to the ruin of the common cauſe of theſe kingdoms, and of all Europe. I had often tried her MAJESTY upon this ſubject; and when I found that ſhe would not hear of the immediate ſucceſſor's coming over, had preſſed her that ſhe would at leaſt invite hither the young PRINCE of Hanover, who was not to be her immediate ſucceſſor, and that ſhe would let him live here as her ſon: but her MAJESTY would liſten to no propoſal of this kind in any ſhape whatſoever.

To give a full anſwer to all objections againſt the miniſters conduct with regard to this

this matter, I ſhall here relate a tranſaction that paſſed three years afterwards, which will ſhow not only the inſincerity of the tories in their zeal for the houſe of Hanover, when they moved for the princeſs SOPHIA's being invited hither, but how inſuperably averſe the QUEEN was to ſuffer the preſence of any of that family.

My lord HAVERSHAM, a great ſpeech-maker, and publiſher of his ſpeeches, and who was become the mouth of the party for any extraordinary alarm, was ſent privately by the tories to the QUEEN, to acquaint her with the diſcovery, they pretended to have made, of a terrible deſign formed by the whigs, to bring over one of the houſe of Hanover, and to force this upon her whether ſhe would or not. Now can any thing be more curious than ſuch a meſſage from the tories, and by ſuch a meſſenger? For my lord HAVERSHAM was the man who had moved for the princeſs SOPHIA's coming over as a thing neceſſary for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion. But *now* any deſign of inviting hither one

of that family was of ſo frightful a nature, that it muſt be eſteemed meritorious to give early notice of the danger. I ſhall make no further comment upon this proceeding, but tranſcribe a part of the QUEEN's letter to the duke of MARLBOROUGH upon this occaſion.

'*July* 22d 1708.

'—— I cannot end this without giving 'you an account in ſhort, of a viſit I had 'from lord HAVERSHAM. He told me his 'buſineſs was to let me know, there was 'certainly a deſign laying between the 'whigs and ſome great men, to have an 'addreſs made in the next ſeſſions of par-'liament for inviting the electoral PRINCE 'over to ſettle here, and that he would 'certainly come to make a viſit, as ſoon as 'the campaign was over, and that there 'was nothing for me to do, to prevent my 'being forced to do this, (as I certainly 'would) but my ſhowing myſelf to be 'QUEEN, and making it my own act. I 'told him, if this matter ſhould be brought 'into parliament, whoever propoſed it, whe-

'ther

'ther whig or tory, I ſhould look upon nei-
'ther of them as my friends, nor would
'ever make any invitation neither to the
'young man, nor his father, nor his grand-
'mother.

'——What I have to ſay upon this
'ſubject, at this time, is, to beg you would
'find whether there is any deſign where
'you are, that the young man ſhould make
'a viſit in the winter, and contrive ſome
'way to put any ſuch thought out of their
'head, that the difficulty may not be
'brought upon me of refuſing him leave
'to come, if he ſhould aſk it; or forbid-
'ding him to come, if he ſhould attempt
'it: For one of theſe two things *I muſt do*,
'if either he or his father ſhould have any
'deſires to have him ſee this country, it
'being a thing *I cannot bear*, to have any
'ſucceſſor here, though but for a week:
'And therefore I ſhall depend upon you,
'to do every thing on the other ſide of the
'water to prevent this mortification from
'coming upon her, that is, and ever will
'be, moſt ſincerely, &c.

To return to the motion for inviting the princeſs SOPHIA. It was upon this occaſion, that the QUEEN gave the firſt indications of any thing like a real reconcilement to the whigs. For though ſhe had been prevailed with to expreſs a deſire, that the parliament would avoid meaſures tending to create diviſions and animoſities at home, (meaning the occaſional conformity bill) yet you will ſee by the following letters from her MAJESTY to me, how much ſhe lean'd all along, in her inclination, to the tories, and even to thoſe very meaſures ſhe would have diſſuaded them from; and which ſhe only thought unſeaſonable at that time.

Friday morning.

'I give my dear Mrs. FREEMAN many 'thanks for her long letter, and am truly 'ſenſible of the ſincere kindneſs you ex-'preſs in it; and in return, to eaſe your 'mind, I muſt tell you, Mr. BROMLEY *will* '*be diſappointed, for the* PRINCE *does not* '*intend to go to the houſe, when the bill of* '*occaſional conformity is brought in*; but at

'the

‘ the ſame time that I think him very much
‘ in the right not to vote in it, I ſhall not
‘ have the worſe opinion of any of the lords
‘ that are for it; for though *I ſhould have*
‘ *been very glad, it had not been brought*
‘ *into the houſe of commons*, becauſe I would
‘ not have had any pretence given for quar-
‘ relling; I can't help thinking, *now it is*
‘ *as good as paſt there*, it will be *better for*
‘ *the ſervice to have it paſs the houſe of*
‘ *lords too*. I muſt own to you, that I ne-
‘ ver cared to mention any thing on this
‘ ſubject to you, becauſe I knew you would
‘ not be of my mind; but ſince you have
‘ given me this occaſion, I can't forbear
‘ ſaying, that *I ſee nothing like perſecution*
‘ *in this bill. You may think it is a notion*
‘ *Lord* NOTTINGHAM *has put into my*
‘ *head, but upon my word it is my own*
‘ *thought*. I am in hopes I ſhall have one
‘ look before you go to St. Albans, and
‘ therefore will ſay no more now, but will
‘ anſwer your letter more at large, ſome
‘ other time; and only promiſe my dear
‘ Mrs. FREEMAN faithfully, I will read

‘ the

'the *book* ſhe ſent me, and beg ſhe would
'never let difference of opinion hinder us
'from living together, as we uſed to do.
'Nothing ſhall ever alter your poor, unfor-
'tunate, faithful MORLEY, who will live
'and die with all truth and tenderneſs,
'your's *.

The following letters from the QUEEN to me, relate to the occaſional conformity bill, when it was intended to tack it to the money bill in 1704.

November 17th 1704.

'—— I am ſure no body ſhall endea-
'vour more to promote it [*union*] than

* It is evident, that this letter, though it bears no other date than friday morning, was written about the beginning of December 1703, when the *occaſional conformity bill* was brought in by Mr. BROMLEY. And it is probable, from ſome words in the letter, that this bill had paſſed the committee, when the QUEEN wrote.

Lord NOTTINGHAM, by whoſe advice, the QUEEN ſuppoſes, that I believe her influenced, was then ſecretary of ſtate.

The PRINCE of Denmark did not vote for the bill this year, nor go to the houſe on this occaſion; ſo that Mr. BROMLEY *was diſappointed.*

'your

'your poor, unfortunate, faithful MORLEY,
'*who doth not at all doubt of your truth and*
'*ſincerity to her*, and hopes *her not agree-*
'*ing in every thing you ſay*, will not be im-
'puted to want of value, eſteem, or tender
'kindneſs for my dear dear Mrs. FREEMAN,
'it being impoſſible for any one to be more
'ſincerely another's, than I am your's.

St. *James*'s, *November* the 21ſt.

'I had juſt ſealed up my letter on *ſa-*
'*turday* night as I received the ſatisfaction
'of my dear Mrs. FREEMAN's of that
'day's date, but would not open it again,
'concluding I ſhould have time, either
'*ſunday* or *yeſterday*, to thank you for it.
'When *ſunday* came I had ſeveral hin-
'drances, and *yeſterday* I ſat down to write,
'but was hinder'd by one of the *Scots* people
'coming to ſpeak with me, or elſe I ſhould
'not have been ſo long without telling
'you, I am very ſorry, you ſhould forbear
'writing upon the apprehenſion of your
'letters being troubleſom, *ſince you know*
'*very well they are not, nor ever can be ſo,*

‘ but the contrary, to your poor, unfortunate,
‘ faithful MORLEY. Upon what my dear
‘ Mrs. FREEMAN ſays again concerning
‘ the addreſs, I have looked it over again,
‘ and cannot for my life ſee, one can put
‘ any other interpretation upon that word
‘ *preſſures*, than what I have done already.
‘ As to my ſaying the church was in ſome
‘ danger in the late reign, I cannot alter
‘ my opinion; for though there was no
‘ violent thing done, every body that will
‘ ſpeak impartially muſt own, that every
‘ thing was leaning towards the whigs,
‘ *and whenever that is, I ſhall think the*
‘ *church beginning to be in danger* *.

But though it appears by theſe letters that the QUEEN was not hitherto inwardly con-

* It would be hard to determine from the imperfect date of this letter or the ſubject matter of it, whether it was writ in 1703 or 1704; but as the firſt lines of it ſhow, that it was written on a tueſday, this fixes it to 1704, the 21ſt of November falling that year on a tueſday.

The occaſional conformity bill was read the firſt time 23d November.

verted

verted to the whigs, neither by all that I had been able to ſay, nor even by the mad conduct of the tacking tories, yet, as I before hinted, their behaviour in the affair of the *invitation* occaſioned ſomething like a change in her. She had been preſent at the debates in the houſe of lords upon that ſubject, and had heard the duke of BUCKINGHAM treat her with great diſreſpect, urging as an argument for inviting over the princeſs SOPHIA, that the QUEEN might live till ſhe did not know what ſhe did, and be like a child in the hands of others; and a great deal to the ſame effect. Such rude treatment from the tories, and the zeal and ſucceſs of the whigs in oppoſing a motion, ſo extremely diſagreeable to her, occaſioned her to write to me in the following terms.

'——— I believe dear Mrs. FREEMAN
' and I ſhall not diſagree as we have former-
' ly done; for I am ſenſible of the ſervices
' thoſe people have done me that you have
' a good opinion of, and will countenance
' them, and am thoroughly convinced of

' the

'the malice and inſolence of *them*, that 'you have always been ſpeaking againſt.'

And at this ſame time, her MAJESTY authorized my lord GODOLPHIN to give the utmoſt aſſurances to the chief men of the whigs, that ſhe would put herſelf and her affairs into ſuch hands as they ſhould approve, and would do every thing poſſible for the ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

But notwithſtanding this, it was not till after much ſolicitation, that her MAJESTY could be prevailed with, ſo far to oblige the whigs, as to make my lord SUNDERLAND, ſecretary of ſtate in the room of ſir CHARLES HEDGES. The whigs, after the ſervices they had done, and the aſſurances the QUEEN had given them, thought it reaſonable to expect, that *one* of the ſecretaries at leaſt ſhould be ſuch a man as they could place a confidence in. They believed they might truſt my lord SUNDERLAND; and though they did not think him the propereſt man for the poſt, yet being my lord MARLBOROUGH's ſon-in-law, they choſe to recommend him to

her

her MAJESTY, becauſe, as they expreſſed themſelves to me, they imagined it was *driving the nail that would go.*

I muſt obſerve here that my lord MARLBOROUGH was not, in his inclination, for this promotion of my lord SUNDERLAND. I have a letter from him expreſſing his diſlike to the deſign. But how hard preſſed both he and my lord GODOLPHIN were by the whigs to have it brought to effect, will fully appear by the following letter on the ſame ſubject.

Grametz October 1706.

'When I writ my laſt, I was very full
'of the ſpleen, and I think with too much
'reaſon. My whole time, to the beſt of my
'underſtanding, has been employed for the
'publick good, as I do aſſure you I do in
'the preſence of GOD, neglecting no op-
'portunity of letting 83 * ſee what I take
'to be her true intereſt. It is terrible to go
'through ſo much uneaſineſs. I do not ſay
'this to flatter any party, for I will never

* The QUEEN.

‘ do it, let the conſequence be what it will.
‘ For, as parties, they are both in the wrong.
‘ But ’tis certain 73 and his adherents are
‘ not to be truſted. So that 83 * has no
‘ choice, but that of employing thoſe who
‘ will carry on the war and ſupport 91 †.
‘ And if any other method is taken I know
‘ we ſhall go into confuſion. Now this
‘ being the caſe, I leave you to judge, whe-
‘ ther I am dealt kindly with? I do not ſay
‘ this for any other end, but to have your
‘ juſtice and kindneſs; for in that will con-
‘ ſiſt my future happineſs. I am ſure I
‘ would venture a thouſand lives, if I had
‘ them, to procure eaſe and happineſs to the
‘ QUEEN. And yet no number of men
‘ could perſuade me to act as a miniſter in
‘ what was not my opinion. So that I ſhall
‘ never fail in ſpeaking my mind very freely.
‘ And as my opinion is, that the tackers
‘ and all the adherents of 73 are not for
‘ carrying on the war, which is for the true
‘ Intereſt of the QUEEN and kingdom, you
‘ may depend I ſhall never join with any

* The QUEEN. † Lord GODOLPHIN.

‘ but

‘ but ſuch as I think will ſerve her and the
‘ true intereſt of our country with all their
‘ hearts. And if the war continues but
‘ one year longer with ſucceſs, I hope it will
‘ not be in any body’s power to make the
‘ QUEEN’s buſineſs uneaſy. And then I
‘ ſhall be glad to live as quiet as poſſible,
‘ and not envy the governing men, who
‘ would then I believe think better of 90
‘ and 91 * than they now do. And I will
‘ own frankly to you, that the jealouſy
‘ ſome of your friends have, that 90 and
‘ 91 do not act ſincerely, makes me ſo weary,
‘ that, were it not for my gratitude for 83,
‘ and concern for 91, I would now retire
‘ and never ſerve more. For I have had
‘ the good luck to deſerve better from all
‘ Engliſhmen, than to be ſuſpected for not
‘ being in the true intereſt of my country;
‘ which I am in, and ever will be, without
‘ being of a faction. And this principle ſhall
‘ govern me for the little remainder of my
‘ life. I muſt not think of being popular;
‘ but I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of my go-

* Lord MARLBOROUGH and lord GODOLPHIN.

'ing to the grave with the opinion of hav-
'ing acted, as became an honeſt man. And
'if I have your eſteem and love, I ſhould
'think myſelf entirely happy. Having
'writ thus far I have received your two
'letters of the 20th and 21ſt, which con-
'firm me in my opinion before. And ſince
'the reſolution is taken to vex and ruin 91,
'becauſe 83 has not complied with what
'was deſired for 117 *, I ſhall from hence-
'forward deſpiſe all mankind, and think
'there is no ſuch thing as virtue. For I
'know with what zeal 91 has preſſed 83
'in that matter. I do pity him, and ſhall
'always love him as long as I live; and ne-
'ver be a friend to any that can be his
'enemy.

'I have writ my mind very freely to
'83 †, on this occaſion, ſo that whatever
'misfortune may happen, I ſhall have a
'quiet mind, having done what I thought
'my duty. And as for the reſolution of
'making me uneaſy, I believe they will
'not have much pleaſure in that, for as I

* Lord SUNDERLAND. † The QUEEN.

‘ have not ſet my heart on having juſtice done
‘ me, I ſhall not be diſappointed; nor will
‘ I be ill uſed by any man.

I ſhall here add a letter of my own to the QUEEN on the ſame ſubject; and the rather, becauſe it not only confirms what I have ſaid of her MAJESTY's *unwillingneſs to oblige the whigs*, but ſhews that as much as I oppoſed the tories, I was no enemy to the *church* they *talked* of, ſo far as any thing *real* and *excellent* was meant by that word; and becauſe it contains ſo juſt a prediction of the uſage, the QUEEN afterwards met with, when ſhe fell into the hands of the high church party.

‘ By the letter I had from your MAJESTY
‘ this morning, and the great weight you
‘ put upon the difference betwixt the word
‘ notion and nation in my letter, I am only
‘ made ſenſible (as by many other things)
‘ that you were in a great diſpoſition to com-
‘ plain of me, ſince to this moment, I can-
‘ not for my life ſee any eſſential difference
‘ betwixt theſe two words, as to the ſenſe of
‘ my letter, the true meaning of which was

‘ only to let your MAJESTY know, with that
‘ faithfulneſs and concern, which I have ever
‘ had for your ſervice, that it was not poſſi-
‘ ble for you to carry on your government
‘ much longer, with ſo much partiality to
‘ one ſort of men, though they loſe no oc-
‘ caſion of diſſerving you, and of ſhowing
‘ the greateſt inveteracy againſt my lord
‘ MARLBOROUGH and my lord treaſurer;
‘ and ſo much diſcouragement to others, who
‘ even after great diſobligations, *have* taken
‘ ſeveral opportunities to ſhow their firmneſs
‘ to your MAJESTY's intereſt, and their zeal
‘ to ſupport you, and your miniſters too,
‘ only becauſe they had been faithful and
‘ uſeful ſervants to you and the publick.

‘ This was all the ſenſe and meaning of
‘ my letter, and if you can find fault with
‘ this, I am ſo unhappy as that you muſt
‘ always find fault with me, for *I am un-*
‘ *capable of thinking otherwiſe as long as I*
‘ *live, or of acting now but upon the ſame*
‘ *principle that I ſerved you before you came*
‘ *to the crown for ſo many years, when your*
‘ *unlimited favour and kindneſs to me, could*
‘ *never tempt me to make uſe of it in one*
‘ *ſingle inſtance that was not for your intereſt*

‘ *and*

'*and ſervice.* I am afraid I have been too
'long in explaining my thoughts upon the
'ſubject of my own letter, which it ſeems
'has been ſo great an offence, and how
'juſtly I leave you to judge; and I muſt beg
'your patience, ſince I am not very like
'to trouble you again, to let me ſay ſome-
'thing upon the ſubject of your letter to my
'lord treaſurer, which he has ſhewn me to
'day, with more concern than I know how
'to expreſs: This was indeed the ſubject of
'my own letter, and the occaſion of it, for
'I do not only ſee the uneaſineſs and the
'grief he has to leave your ſervice, when
'you ſeem ſo deſirous he ſhould continue in
'it, but I ſee as well as he, the impoſſibility
'of his being able to ſupport it, or himſelf,
'or my lord MARLBOROUGH, for it all
'hangs upon one thread; and when they
'are forced to leave your ſervice, *you will*
'*then indeed, find yourſelf in the hands of a*
'*violent party, who I am ſure will have very*
'*little mercy or even humanity for you.*
'Whereas you might prevent all theſe miſ-
'fortunes, by giving my lord treaſurer and
'my lord MARLBOROUGH (whom you
'may ſo ſafely truſt) leave to propoſe thoſe

‘ things to you, which they know and can
‘ judge to be abſolutely neceſſary for your
‘ ſervice, which will put it in their power
‘ to influence thoſe, who have given you
‘ proofs both of their being able to ſerve you,
‘ and of their deſiring to make you great
‘ and happy. But rather than your MA-
‘ JESTY will employ a party-man, as you
‘ are pleaſed to call lord SUNDERLAND, you
‘ will put all things in confuſion, and at the
‘ ſame time that you ſay this, you employ
‘ Sir C. HEDGES, who is in one againſt you,
‘ only that he has voted in remarkable things
‘ that he might keep his place; and he did
‘ the ſame thing in the late KING's time,
‘ till at laſt, that every body ſaw he was
‘ juſt dying and he could loſe nothing by
‘ differing with that court: But formerly
‘ he voted with thoſe men, the enemies to
‘ this government call whigs, and if he had
‘ not been a party-man, how could he have
‘ been a ſecretary of ſtate, when all your
‘ councils were influenced by my lord R.
‘ lord NOTT. Sir E. SEYMOUR, and about
‘ ſix or ſeven more juſt ſuch men, that call
‘ themſelves *the heroes for the church?* But
‘ what church can any man be of that

‘ would

'would disturb so just a government as yours,
'or how can any body be in the true interest
'of England, that opposes you and your mi-
'nisters, by whose advice, in four years
'time, you are very near pulling down the
'power of France, and making *that reli-*
'gion, they only talk of, not only more secure
'than in any of the late reigns, but putting
'it upon a better foundation than it has been
'since the reformation?

'You are pleased to say you think it a
'great hardship, to persuade a man to part
'with a place he is in possession of, for one
'that is not vacant. In some cases that
'were certainly right, but not in this; for
'Sir CHARLES HEDGES can have the place
'he desires immediately, and it is much
'better for him, unless he could be secre-
'tary of state for life. He will have two
'places that are considerable, one of which
'he can compass no other way, and this is
'so far from being a hardship, that he and
'all the world must think it a great kind-
'ness done him, and he must be a very
'weak man, if he lost the opportunity of
'having such a certainty, when he can't
'flatter himself that (whatever happens) he

'can

'can be ſupported long in a place of that 'conſequence for which he is ſo unfit. He 'has no capacity, no quality, no intereſt, 'nor ever could have been in that poſt, but 'that every body knows, my lord ROCHES-'TER cares for nothing ſo much as a man 'that he thinks will depend upon him. I 'beg your MAJESTY's pardon for not wait-'ing upon you, and I perſuade myſelf, that 'long as my letter is, it will be leſs trouble-'ſom to your MAJESTY.'

It was a wonder to many, that this affair of my lord SUNDERLAND's promotion met with ſuch difficulties, conſidering his relation to my lord MARLBOROUGH, whoſe merit with his QUEEN and country was every year augmenting. For, whilſt this matter was in ſuſpence, he obtained the victory of Ramillies: on which occaſion her MAJESTY in a letter dated from Kenſington, May 17, 1706, told him —— 'She wanted words 'to expreſs the true ſenſe ſhe had of the 'great ſervice he had done his country and 'her, in that great and glorious victory, and 'hoped it would be a means to confirm all 'good and honeſt people in their principles,

'and

'and frighten others from being trouble-
'some; —— *and then ſpoke*, 'of the allay it
'was to all her ſatisfaction, to conſider
'what hazards he was expoſed to,' ——*and repeated an obliging requeſt ſhe had often made*, 'that he would be careful of himſelf.' I cannot doubt of the QUEEN's kind diſpoſitions to my lord MARLBOROUGH at this time, or her willingneſs, in general, to oblige him. And it quickly appeared that the difficulties raiſed by her MAJESTY againſt parting with Sir CHARLES HEDGES, were wholly owing to the artifice and management of Mr. HARLEY, the other ſecretary of ſtate, whoſe intereſt and ſecret tranſactions with the QUEEN were then doubtleſs in their beginning. This man had been put into that poſt by the lords MARLBOROUGH and GODOLPHIN, when my lord NOTTINGHAM in diſguſt reſigned it. They thought him a very proper perſon to manage the houſe of commons, upon which ſo much always depends: And his artifices had won upon them ſo far that they could not be perſuaded, but they might ſecurely truſt him; till experience too late convinced them of the contrary. And indeed (not to mention other

parts of his behaviour) who would have thought that the man, who had wrote the following letter on occaſion of lord BLANDFORD's death, could ſo ſoon have been laying ſchemes for the deſtruction of the perſon to whom it was written?

MY LORD,

'There is no ſervant of your grace's is 'more ſenſibly affected with, I will not call 'it your grace's loſs, but our common miſ-'fortune, than myſelf. And I wiſh to GOD 'the part I can bear of it, would diſcharge 'your grace of any of the burden. I do 'feel it, that a limb is torn off; therefore I 'think, for the preſervation of the reſidue, 'the blood ſhould be ſtaunch'd, I mean, 'grief ſhould be moderated; time I know 'is the beſt phyſician in this caſe, but our 'neceſſities require a quicker remedy. And 'I doubt not but your grace's greatneſs of 'mind will give what is due to nature, with-'out taking any thing from reaſon. Be 'pleaſed to conſider that the nation are your 'children, the publick needs all your care, 'how little ſoever it may deſerve it.

'I ſhall pay my duty to your grace, when 'you will permit me; in the mean time I 'beſeech your pardon for this overflowing 'of my paſſion, which is the effect of the 'dutiful affection of,

'MY LORD,

'*Your grace's moſt humble*

'*and moſt obedient ſervant,*

March 1. 1702/3 'RO. HARLEY.'

But to return, it is no wonder that Mr. HARLEY, with ſuch views as he then had, ſhould be unwilling to ſee a ſecretary of ſtate diſplaced, over whom he thought he had ſome influence, and through whoſe hands the greater part of the buſineſs of his own office (ſcandalouſly neglected by himſelf) uſed to paſs; and much more unwilling to have him ſucceeded by a perſon over whom he had no power whatſoever.

As for Sir CHARLES HEDGES, when he found how backward the QUEEN was to diſmiſs him, he was ſo prudent as to make a greater advantage to himſelf by quitting his poſt, than he could have done by holding it. And in the winter of 1706, lord SUNDERLAND was appointed to ſucceed him.

But

But notwithſtanding this point thus carried by the whigs, they were ſoon alarmed again by the QUEEN's choice of two high church divines, to fill two vacant biſhopricks. Several of the whigs were diſpoſed to think themſelves betray'd by the miniſtry: whereas the truth was, that the QUEEN's inclination to the tories being now ſooth'd by the flatteries and inſinuations of her private counſellors, had begun to make it irkſom to her to conſult with her miniſters upon any promotions, either in the church or the ſtate. *The firſt* artifice of thoſe counſellors was, to inſtil into the QUEEN notions of the high prerogative of *acting without her miniſters*, and (as they expreſſed it) of being QUEEN *indeed*. And the nomination of perſons to biſhopricks againſt the judgment and *remonſtrances* of her miniſtry, being what they knew her genius would fall in with more readily than with any thing elſe they could propoſe, they began with that; and they took care that thoſe *remonſtrances* ſhould be interpreted by the world, and reſented by herſelf as hard uſage, a denial of common civility, and even *the making her no* QUEEN.

Her

Her MAJESTY however, to quiet the diſſatisfaction of the whigs for the late promotions, ordered her miniſters to aſſure them, that ſhe would prefer no more tories, and ſhe gave the ſame aſſurances with her own mouth in the cabinet council. And ſhe was ſuffered by her ſecret counſellors ſo far to obſerve this promiſe, as to give, about the ſame time, the biſhoprick of Norwich to doctor TRIMNEL; a particular friend of lord SUNDERLAND's. And ſhe alſo, ſome time after, gave the profeſſorſhip of divinity at Oxford to doctor POTTER, the preſent archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had doctor SMALRIDGE for his competitor, recommended by the tories. But this latter favour to the whigs was not ſo eaſily obtain'd as the former. And, upon the delays that were made in beſtowing it, my lord MARLBOROUGH thought it proper to try what credit he had with a QUEEN, whoſe glory he had carried to a height beyond that of any of her predeceſſors. He wrote therefore a very moving letter to her, complaining of the viſible loſs of his intereſt with her, and particularly of her ſo long deferring the promotion ſhe had promiſed, of the perſon recommended

mended by her miniſtry, as a faithful friend to her government, adding, that the only way to make her reign eaſy, was to be true to that rule, which ſhe had profeſſed to lay down, of preferring none of thoſe, who appeared againſt her ſervice and the nation's intereſt, *&c.*—He wrote at the ſame time to the ſame effect to me, and I wrote to the QUEEN, and at length by much ſolicitation this matter was obtained, and doctor POTTER fixed in the profeſſorſhip.

But this was only yielding up *one* ſmall point, in order to conceal a much greater deſign and bring it to effect, when the ſeaſon ſhould be ripe for it. It was about this time, that the miniſtry began to be aſſured of the ſecret practices of Mr. HARLEY againſt them; and that I diſcovered the baſe returns made me by Mrs. MASHAM, upon whom I had heaped the greateſt obligations.

The ſtory of this lady, as well as of *that gentleman*, who was her great adviſer and director, is worth the knowledge of poſterity, as it will lead them into a ſenſe of the inſtability of court-favour, and of the incurable baſeneſs which ſome minds are capable of contracting.

Mrs.

Mrs. MASHAM was the daughter of one HILL, a merchant in the city, by a ſiſter of my father. Our grandfather, Sir JOHN JENYNS, had two and twenty children, by which means the eſtate of the family (which was reputed to be about 4000 *l.* a year) came to be divided into ſmall parcels. Mrs. HILL had only 500 *l.* to her portion. Her huſband lived very well, as I have been told, for many years, till turning projector, he brought ruin upon himſelf and his family. But as this was long before I was born, I never knew there were ſuch people in the world, till after the princeſs ANNÆ was married, and when ſhe lived at the Cockpit; at which time an acquaintance of mine came to me and ſaid, *She believed I did not know, that I had relations who were in want*, and ſhe gave me an account of them. When ſhe had finiſhed her ſtory, I anſwered, *that indeed I had never heard before of any ſuch relations*, and immediately gave her out of my purſe ten guineas for their preſent relief, ſaying, I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I ſent Mrs. HILL more money, and ſaw her. She told me that her

husband was in the same relation to Mr. HARLEY, as she was to me, but that he had never done any thing for her.

I think Mrs. MASHAM's father and mother did not live long after this. They left four children, two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter (afterwards Mrs. MASHAM) was a grown woman. I took her to St. Albans, where she lived with me and my children, and I treated her with as great kindness, as if she had been my sister. After some time a bedchamber-woman of the PRINCESS of Denmark's died; and as in that reign (after the PRINCESSES were grown up) rockers, though not gentlewomen, had been advanced to be bedchamber-women, I thought I might ask the PRINCESS to give the vacant place to Mrs. HILL. At first indeed I had some scruple about it, but this being removed by persons I thought wiser, with whom I consulted, I made the request to the PRINCESS, and it was granted.

As for the younger daughter (who is still living) I engaged my lord MARLBOROUGH, when the DUKE of Glouceſter's family was settled, to make her laundress

to him, which was a good provision for her. And when the DUKE of Glouceſter died, I obtained for her a penſion of 200 *l.* a year, which I paid her out of the privy-purſe. And in ſome time after I aſked the QUEEN's leave to buy her an annuity out of ſome of the funds, repreſenting to her MAJESTY, that as the privy-purſe money produced no intereſt, it would be the ſame thing to her, if inſtead of the penſion to Mrs. HILL, ſhe gave her at once a ſum ſufficient to purchaſe an annuity; and that by this means her MAJESTY would make a *certain* proviſion for one, who had ſerved the DUKE of Glouceſter. The QUEEN was pleaſed to allow the money for that purchaſe, and it is very probable that Mrs. HILL has the annuity to this day, and perhaps nothing elſe, unleſs ſhe ſaved money after her ſiſter had made her deputy to the privy-purſe, which ſhe did, as ſoon as ſhe had ſupplanted me.

The elder ſon was, at my requeſt, put by my lord GODOLPHIN into a place in the *cuſtom-houſe*; and when, in order to his ad-

vancement to a better, it was neceſſary to give ſecurity for his good behaviour, I got a relation of the duke of MARLBOROUGH's to be bound for him in two thouſand pounds.

His brother (whom the bottle-men afterwards called *honeſt* JACK HILL) was a tall boy, whom I clothed, (for he was all in rags) and put to ſchool at St. Albans to one Mr. JAMES, who had been an uſher under Dr. BUSBY of Weſtminſter. And whenever I went to St. Albans I ſent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own child. After he had learnt what he could there, a vacancy happening of page of honour to the PRINCE of Denmark, his HIGHNESS was pleaſed, at my requeſt, to take him. I afterwards got my lord MARLBOROUGH to make him groom of the bed-chamber to the DUKE of Glouceſter. And though my lord always ſaid that JACK HILL *was good for nothing*, yet to oblige me, he made him his *aid de camp*, and afterwards gave him a *regiment*. But it was his ſiſter's intereſt that raiſed him to be a *general*, and to command in that ever memorable

morable expedition to Quebec: I had no ſhare in doing him theſe honours. To finiſh what I have to ſay upon his ſubject: When Mr. HARLEY thought it uſeful to attack the duke of MARLBOROUGH in parliament, this Quebec *general*, this *honeſt* JACK HILL, this *once ragged boy*, *whom I clothed*, happening to be ſick in bed, was nevertheleſs perſuaded by his *ſiſter* to get up, wrap himſelf in warmer clothes than thoſe I had given him, and go to the houſe to vote againſt the duke.

I may here add, that even the *huſband* of Mrs. MASHAM had ſeveral obligations to me. It was at my inſtance that he was firſt made a page, then a querry, and afterwards groom of the bed-chamber to the PRINCE; for all which he himſelf thank'd me, as for favours procured by my means.

As for Mrs. MASHAM herſelf, I had ſo much kindneſs for her, and had done ſo much to oblige her, without having ever done any thing to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myſelf to think her other than a true friend, or for-

bear rejoicing at any inſtance of favour ſhown her by the QUEEN. I obſerved indeed at length that ſhe was grown more ſhy of coming to me, and more reſerved than uſual, when ſhe was with me; but I imputed this to her peculiar moroſeneſs of temper, and for ſome time made no other reflection upon it.

The firſt thing, which led me into enquiries about her conduct, was, the being told (in the ſummer of 1707,) that my couſin HILL was privately married to Mr. MASHAM. I went to her and aſked her if it were true, ſhe owned it was, and begged my pardon for having concealed it from me. As much reaſon as I had to take ill this reſerve in her behaviour, I was willing to impute it to baſhfulneſs and want of breeding, rather than to any thing worſe. I embraced her with my uſual tenderneſs, and very heartily wiſhed her joy; and then, turning the diſcourſe, entered into her concerns in as friendly a manner as poſſible, contriving how to accommodate her with lodgings, by removing her ſiſter into ſome

of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly, whether the QUEEN knew of her marriage; and very innocently offered her my ſervice, if ſhe needed it, to make that matter eaſy. She had by this time learnt the art of diſſimulation pretty well, and anſwered with an air of unconcernedneſs, that the *bed-chamber women had already acquainted the* QUEEN *with it*, hoping by this anſwer to divert any farther examination into the matter. But I went preſently to the QUEEN and aſked her, *why ſhe had not been ſo kind as to tell me of my couſin's marriage*, expoſtulating with her upon the point, and putting her in mind of what ſhe uſed often to ſay to me out of *Montaigne*, *that it was no breach of promiſe of ſecrecy to tell ſuch a friend any thing, becauſe it was no more than telling it to one's ſelf.* All the anſwer I could obtain from her MAJESTY was this, *I have a hundred times bid* MASHAM *tell it you, and ſhe would not.*

The conduct both of the QUEEN and of Mrs. MASHAM, convinced me that there was ſome myſtery in the affair, and there-

upon I ſet myſelf to enquire as particularly as I could into it. And in leſs than a week's time, I diſcovered, *that my couſin was become an abſolute favourite; that the* QUEEN *herſelf was preſent at her marriage in Dr.* ARBUTHNOT's *lodgings*, at which time her MAJESTY had called for a round ſum out of the privy-purſe; *that Mrs.* MASHAM *came often to the* QUEEN, *when the* PRINCE *was aſleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her*: And I likewiſe then diſcovered beyond all diſpute *Mr.* HARLEY's *correſpondence and intereſt at court by means of this woman.*

I was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at ſuch an inſtance of ingratitude, and ſhould not have *believed*, if there had been any room left for *doubting*.

My lord MARLBOROUGH was at firſt no leſs incredulous than I, as appears by the following paragraph of a letter from him, in anſwer to one from me on this ſubject.

Meldeſt

Meldeſt, June 3, 1707.

'The wiſeſt thing is to have to do with 'as few people as poſſible. If you are ſure 'that Mrs. MASHAM ſpeaks of buſineſs to 'the QUEEN, I ſhould think, you might 'with ſome caution tell her of it, which 'would do good. For ſhe certainly muſt be 'grateful and will mind what you ſay.'

It became eaſy now to decypher many particulars, which had hitherto remained myſterious, and my reflection quickly brought to my mind many paſſages, which had ſeemed odd and unaccountable, but had left no impreſſions of ſuſpicion or jealouſy. Particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the QUEEN, (to whom I had gone very privately by a ſecret paſſage, from my lodgings to the bedchamber) on a ſudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldeſt and gaieſt air poſſible, but, upon ſight of me, ſtopped; and immediately, changing her manner, and making a moſt ſolemn courteſy, *did your* MAJESTY *ring?*

And

And then went out again. This ſingular behaviour needed no interpreter *now*, to make it underſtood. But, not to dwell on ſuch trifling incidents, as ſoon as I had got a thorough inſight into her management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following letter.

Sept. 23d. 1707.

'Since the converſation I had with you 'at your lodgings, ſeveral things have 'happened to confirm me in what I was 'hard to believe, that you have made me 'returns very unſuitable to what I might 'have expected. I always ſpeak my mind 'ſo plainly, that I ſhould have told you ſo 'myſelf, if I had had the opportunity 'which I hoped for. But being now ſo 'near parting, think this way of letting 'you know it is like to be the leaſt uneaſy 'to you, as well as to

'*your humble ſervant*,

'S. MARLBOROUGH.

Though

Though I was to go to Woodſtock the next day, I ſtayed at Windſor almoſt all the morning to wait her anſwer. But this could not be had ſo ſoon, it being neceſſary to conſult with her great director in ſo nice a matter. At length however an anſwer was ſent after me, the whole frame and ſtile of which ſhewed it to be the genuine product of an artful man, who knew perfectly well the management of ſuch an affair.

Windſor, Sept. 24. 1707.

'While I was expecting a meſſage from 'your grace, to wait upon you according 'to your commands, laſt night, I received 'a letter which ſurprizes me no leſs than 'it afflicts me, becauſe it lays a moſt 'heavy charge upon me, of an ungrateful 'behaviour to your grace. Her MAJESTY 'was pleaſed to tell me, that you was angry 'with me for not acquainting you with 'my marriage. I did believe after ſo gene-'rous a pardon, your grace would think

'no

'no more of that. I am very confident
'by the expreſſion of your letter, that
'ſomebody has told ſome malicious lie of
'me to your grace, from which it is im-
'poſſible for me to vindicate myſelf till I
'know the crime I am accuſed of. I am
'ſure, madam, your goodneſs cannot deny
'me what the meaneſt may aſk the great-
'eſt; I mean juſtice, to know my accuſer.
'Without that, all friendſhip muſt be at
'the mercy of every malicious liar, as they
'are, who have ſo barbarouſly and unjuſt-
'ly brought me under your diſpleaſure,
'the greateſt unhappineſs that could be-
'fall me; I therefore make it my moſt
'humble requeſt to your grace, that if
'ever I had the leaſt ſhare of your friend-
'ſhip, you would be pleaſed to give me
'that parting token to let me know who
'this wicked perſon is, and then I do not
'doubt but I ſhall make it plain how
'much they have wronged me, as well as
'impoſed upon your grace. As my af-
'fliction is very great, you will I hope in

'compaſſion

'compaſſion let me hear from you, and
'believe me what I really am,

'MADAM,

'*Your grace's moſt humble*

'*and faithful ſervant,*

'A. HIIL.

As I believe no body at this time doubts whether the writer of this letter was practiſing with the QUEEN to undermine me, I ſhall make no reflections upon it. My anſwer to it was in theſe terms.

'I received your letter upon the road to
'this place, and I can aſſure you the oc-
'caſion of my complaints did not proceed
'from any ill offices that had been done
'you to me by any body, but from my
'own obſervation, which makes the im-
'preſſion much the ſtronger. But I think
'the ſubject is not very proper for a letter,
'and therefore I muſt defer it till we meet,

'and

'and give you no farther trouble at this
'time from

'*Your moſt humble ſervant,*

'S. MARLBOROUGH.

About the ſame time that I made this diſcovery of Mrs. MASHAM's *intriguing*, my lord GODOLPHIN, (as I before-mentioned) got notice of Mr. HARLEY's practices both within doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the whigs jealouſies of lord GODOLPHIN, and lord MARLBOROUGH, and at the ſame time aſſuring the tories, that they might depend upon the QUEEN's inward affection to *them*; and that it was wholly owing to thoſe two great lords that the tories were not ſtill poſſeſſed of all the places and employments. His deſign was to ruin the whigs, by diſuniting them from the miniſtry, and ſo to pave the way for the tories to riſe again; whom he thought to unite in himſelf, as their head, after he had made it impoſſible for them

to

to think of a reconciliation with the duke of MARLBOROUGH and lord GODOLPHIN.

But, that this able politician might in all things act ſuitably to his parts and genius, he, at the ſame time that he was employed in the manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the eyes of thoſe, whoſe deſtruction he aimed at, by the moſt elaborate compliments, and the moſt nauſeous profeſſions of affection and duty.

I am perſuaded, my lord, that as mean an opinion as you have of this gentleman, you will yet be ſurprized at his manner of writing to my lord MARLBOROUGH and myſelf. I have picked out of the letters we had from him, ſome choice pieces, which I think are real curioſities, and, when compared with his after conduct, will ſerve excellently well towards forming a perfect idea of his character.

'MADAM,

'Though the advantage the publick re-
'ceives from this great and glorious vic-
'tory of SCHELLENBERG is enough to

'inſpire every one's heart with joy, who
'loves either the QUEEN or the nation, yet I
'muſt profeſs *I have a peculiar ſatisfaction*;
'it enhances the bleſſing to *me* by the hand
'that wrought it: I ſhould have had a
'ſhare in common with the reſt of the
'nation, if another had performed it: But
'when the duke of MARLBOROUGH is the
'author, when our deliverance, I may
'call it, is owing to *his* courage and *his*
'conduct: when the Engliſh honour is
'not only retrieved, but carried to ſo great
'a height, I cannot but receive an *addi-*
'*tional pleaſure*, that it is *done by my lord*
'*duke*. I hope your grace will forgive
'this overflowing of joy, as an inſtance
'of the ſincerity and duty wherewith I
'ſhall always endeavour to diſtinguiſh my-
'ſelf,

'MADAM,

'*Your grace's moſt humble*

'*and moſt obedient ſervant*,

July 3. 1704. 'R. HARLEY.

MY LORD, May 17, 1706.

'Yesterday about seven in the evening, 'col. RICHARDS brought the most accep-'table news of the glorious success your 'grace had obtained in attacking the 'French army; and at the same time 'we are rejoicing for the victory, we can-'not (I mean every good Englishman) but 'be sensibly touched with the danger all 'was in, by the hazard your grace ex-'posed your own person to; that delive-'rance enhances the value of the victory; 'considering how dear it had like to have 'cost us: heaven itself hath preserved that 'precious life, and would not suffer us 'to lose your grace; who was born for the 'delivery of your own country, and the 'rescue of so many others from tyranny 'and oppression. Your grace does not only 'triumph over the publick enemies, by 'teaching us how to conquer abroad, but 'you deliver us from ourselves, and rescue 'us from that tyranny which each party 'here would exercise upon one another: you

'have again disarmed malice, and though
'your glorious actions will encrease envy,
'yet the lustre of what you have done will
'discover it, and consequently render it im-
'potent. May your grace still go on prof-
'perously, the best general, to the best QUEEN,
'and engaged in the best cause: and may
'you live long to enjoy in peace the fruits of
'your innumerable hazards and toils.

'I am with the greatest duty and affection,

'MY LORD,

'*Your grace's most humble,*

'*and most obedient servant,*

RO. HARLEY.

May 24,
June 4, 1706.

MY LORD,

'I cannot tell where this letter will find
'your grace, the improvements you make
'of your glorious victory are so stupendous;
'you have united the characters of SCIPIO
'and HANNIBAL; your grace knows how to
'conquer, and how to improve a victory to
'admiration. Among the letters which have
'fallen into my hands, there is one to Mr.
D'ALLEGRE

'D'ALLEGRE hath this article, that the E-
'LECTOR of Bavaria had wrote to his bro-
'ther the ELECTOR of Cologne, in theſe terms.
'*Avec la plus belle armée et la plus floriſſante et*
'*animée j'ay etè battu*, DIEU *l'a voulu*. I hear
'from one I ſent to Calais, that after the
'news of the victory and the declaring of
'Bruſſels, the mob of Calais were very trou-
'bleſom in the town, and had your grace's
'name continually in their mouths: we are
'aſſured that an expreſs was ſent away May
'25, N. S. to Mr. FEUILLADE, to offer the
'DUKE of Savoy any terms whatever. I doubt
'not but their emiſſaries will be buſy alſo in
'Holland again, but I wrote laſt poſt to
'Mr. BUYS, to caution him upon that ſub-
'ject, how neceſſary it was to be very vigi-
'lant, &c.

'I am with the greateſt duty and affection,

'MY LORD,

'*Your grace's moſt humble,*

'*and moſt obedient ſervant,*

RO. HARLEY.

May 28,
June 8, 1706.

'MY LORD,

'I received this morning the honour of 'your grace's letter of June 3, and cannot 'but obſerve, with the utmoſt pleaſure and 'ſatisfaction, the great and wonderful ſuc-'ceſſes which attend every day your grace's 'prudent and moſt valiant conduct. It is ve-'ry true, that victories have been obtained 'over potent and flouriſhing armies formerly. 'Your grace gave us two years ſince a noble 'inſtance of that, but give me leave to ſay, 'this is not only obtaining a victory, but wear-'ing of it too; this is improving your own 'actions, and outdoing your own victories, 'for nothing but you, ſir, can outdo my 'lord MARLBOROUGH's former victories.

'Your proceedings are ſo ſwift that it is 'ſcarce poſſible with thought to keep pace 'with them; therefore we can only here 'give directions at random, &c.

'I am with the greateſt duty and affection,

'MY LORD,

'*Your grace's moſt humble,*

'*and moſt obedient ſervant,*

'RO. HARLEY.

May 31,
June 11, 1706.

'MY LORD,

'What ſucceſs, this fortunate raiſing of 'the ſiege [of Barcelona] will have upon the 'minds of the Portugueze I cannot tell, all 'ſorts of people here are much exaſperated 'againſt them; and SCHONNENBERGH now 'writes to his maſters, that he ſuſpects ſome of 'thoſe miniſters are in the intereſt of France; 'and I believe all of them hope for a civil 'war in Spain, of which they will make 'their markets. *But the glorious things your 'grace has done, puts an end to ſuch little 'projects. Your grace does all at once, and 'the influence of it will be as extenſive as the 'grandeur of the action*, &c.

'I am with the greateſt duty and affection,

'MY LORD,

'*Your grace's moſt humble*

'*and moſt obedient ſervant*,

'RO. HARLEY.

Thurſday, Aug. 8, 1706.

' MADAM,

' I was juſt going to end this trouble, when ' I was honoured with your grace's com- ' mands, which I ſhall apply myſelf to obey ' with all imaginable chearfulneſs and dili- ' gence. I cannot think of a ſervant and a ' ſpy, without the utmoſt abhorrence, and ' particularly when I find it levelled at *your* ' *grace's family, to whom we all owe ſo much.* ' *I have been often provoked to ſee ſo much* ' *publick and private ingratitude exerciſed to-* ' *wards the duke.*

' I ſhall not omit any thing which may ' tend towards a diſcovery of this villainy; ' and I will not put it into any one's hands, ' but manage that myſelf. I beg your grace ' will do me the honour to believe me to be, ' with the utmoſt duty,

' MADAM,

' *Your grace's moſt humble,*

' *and moſt obedient ſervant,*

' RO. HARLEY.

Is

Is it not amazing, that a perſon, who could thus extol the duke of MARLBOROUGH's ſervices to his country, ſpeak of his glory as beyond the power of envy or malice to hurt it, and profeſs to feel ſuch *a peculiar joy* in the contemplation of it; is it not amazing, I ſay, that this very perſon ſhould be, at the ſame time, contriving how to ruin that glorious man, in order to raiſe himſelf upon his ruins? The duke was too backward to believe him capable of ſuch deſigns, though it is certain he never had entertained the ſame good opinion of him, as my lord GODOLPHIN had, and though, as one may collect from a paragraph in a letter of Mr. HARLEY's, dated 25 March 1707. the duke had been early warned of his practices. The paragraph contains theſe words.

'I return your grace moſt hearty and hum-
' ble thanks for the favourable expreſſions in
' your letter. I beg leave to aſſure you, that
' *I ſerve you by inclination and principle*, and
' a very little time will make that manifeſt,
' as well as that *I have no views or aims of my*
' *own.*

The conduct which Mr. HARLEY obſerved, after theſe aſſurances, was ſo directly contrary to them, and became quickly ſo notorious, that my lord GODOLPHIN could not help repreſenting it to the QUEEN as of the utmoſt prejudice to her affairs: And when he found that her MAJESTY *would believe nothing of it*, he went ſo far as to ſay, that if Mr. HARLEY continued to act the part he did, and yet to have ſo much credit with her, as he perceived he had, lord MARLBOROUGH and himſelf muſt of neceſſity quit her ſervice. The QUEEN appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and preſently wrote a letter to me, in which were ſeveral expreſſions of great kindneſs.

' Kenſington, Oct. the 30th.

' If I have not anſwered all my dear Mrs. ' FREEMAN's letters (as indeed I ſhould ' have done) I beg ſhe would not impute it ' to any thing but the apprehenſions I was ' in of ſaying, what might add to the ill im- ' preſſions ſhe has of me. For though I be- ' lieve we are both of the ſame opinion in

' the

‘ the main, I have the misfortune that I
‘ cannot agree exactly in every thing, and
‘ therefore what I ſay is not thought to have
‘ the leaſt colour of reaſon in it, which makes
‘ me really not care to enter into particulars;
‘ but though I am unwilling to do it, it is im-
‘ poſſible for me to help giving you ſome
‘ anſwer to your laſt letter, in which I find
‘ you think me inſenſible of every thing. I
‘ am very ſorry, you, who have known me
‘ ſo long, can give way to ſuch a thought,
‘ as that I do not think the parting with my
‘ lord MARLBOROUGH and my lord treaſurer
‘ of much conſequence, becauſe I did not
‘ mention any thing of my lord MARLBO-
‘ ROUGH's kind letter concerning me. The
‘ reaſon of that was, I really was in a great
‘ hurry when I writ to you, and not having
‘ time to write on that ſubject to both, I
‘ thought it was the moſt neceſſary to en-
‘ deavour to let him ſee he had no reaſon to
‘ have ſuſpicions, of any one's having pow-
‘ er with me, beſides himſelf and my lord
‘ treaſurer, and I hope they will believe me.

‘ Can dear Mrs. FREEMAN think that I
‘ can be ſo ſtupid, as not to be ſenſible of the

great

'great ſervices that my lord MARLBOROUGH
'and my lord treaſurer have done me, nor
'of the great misfortune it would be, if they
'ſhould quit my ſervice? No, ſure, you
'cannot believe me to be ſo void of ſenſe
'and gratitude. I never did, nor never will
'give them any juſt reaſon to forſake me;
'and they have too much honour and too
'ſincere a love for their country to leave me
'without a cauſe. And I beg you would
'not add that to my other misfortunes, of
'puſhing them on to ſuch an unjuſt and un-
'juſtifiable action. I think I had beſt ſay
'no more for fear of being too troubleſom.
'But whatever becomes of me, I ſhall always
'preſerve a moſt ſincere and tender paſſion
'for my dear Mrs. FREEMAN to my laſt
'moment.'

After my return to London, I had another kind letter from her MAJESTY in the following terms.

Saturday Night.

'My dear Mrs. FREEMAN, I cannot go
'to bed without renewing a requeſt that I
'have often made, that you would baniſh all

'unkind

'unkind and unjuſt thoughts of your poor,
'unfortunate, faithful MORLEY, which I
'ſaw by the glimpſe I had of you yeſterday
'you were full of. Indeed I do not deſerve
'them, and if you could ſee my heart, you
'would find it as ſincere, as tender, and paſ-
'ſionately fond of you as ever, and *as truly*
'*ſenſible of your kindneſs in telling me your*
'*mind freely upon all occaſions.* Nothing ſhall
'ever alter me. Though we have the mis-
'fortune to differ in ſome things, I will ever
'be the ſame to my dear dear Mrs. FREE-
'MAN, who I do aſſure once more, I am
'more tenderly and ſincerely hers than it is
'poſſible ever to expreſs.'

I was every day in expectation of hearing from Mrs. MASHAM, who, I ſuppoſed, would now endeavour to clear up what had created ſo much uneaſineſs between us. But, to my great ſurprize, I was twelve days at St. *James*'s under the ſame roof with her, before I had ſo much as any meſſage from her. At length having one night paſt by her window in my return home, ſhe ſent one of her maids to my woman to aſk *her* how I did,

and

and to let me know that ſhe was gone to Kenſington. This behaviour was ſo very ridiculous, that the next time I ſaw the QUEEN I could not forbear ſpeaking of it, and at the ſame time telling her all that had paſt between us. The QUEEN looked grave and ſaid, *ſhe was mightily in the right not to come near me.* I anſwered that I did not underſtand *that*, ſince ſhe had expreſſed ſuch a concern at my diſpleaſure, and ſince the clearing up of matters had been reſerved to our meeting. The QUEEN replied, that *it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when ſhe ſaw I was angry with her.* To this I anſwered, that *ſhe could have no reaſon to be afraid, unleſs ſhe knew herſelf guilty of ſome crime.* It was the QUEEN's uſual way on any occaſion, where ſhe was predetermined (and my lord MARLBOROUGH has told me that it was her father's) to repeat over and over ſome principal words ſhe had reſolved to uſe, and to ſtick firmly to them. She continued therefore to ſay, *it was very natural, and ſhe was very much in the right.* So that this converſation with her MAJESTY produced nothing but an undeniable proof,

that

that the new favourite was deeply rooted in her heart and affections; and that it was thought more advisable to let the breach between me and Mrs. MASHAM grow wider and wider, than to use any method to make it up.

But now within two days, Mrs. MASHAM contrived to make me a visit, when I was abroad. Upon observing this, and considering that our meeting could be to no purpose but to draw fruitless and false professions from her, I gave a general order to my servants to say, whenever she should call, that I was not at home. After some time, it was thought proper that she should write to me, and desire I would see her; to which I consented, and appointed her a time. When she came, I began to tell her, *that it was very plain, the* QUEEN *was much changed towards me, and that I could not attribute this to any thing but* her *secret management; that I knew she had been very frequently with her* MAJESTY *in private, and that the very attempt to conceal this, by artifice, from such a friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill sign, and enough to prove a very bad purpose at bottom.* To this she very gravely answered, that *she*

was

was ſure the QUEEN, *who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me.* It was ſome minutes before I could recover from the ſurprize, with which ſo extraordinary an anſwer ſtruck me. To ſee a woman whom I had raiſed out of the duſt, put on ſuch a ſuperior air, and to hear her aſſure me, by way of conſolation, *that the* QUEEN *would be always very kind to me!* At length I went on to reproach her with her ingratitude and her ſecret management with the QUEEN to undermine thoſe, who had ſo long, and with ſo much honour ſerved her MAJESTY. To this ſhe anſwered, *that ſhe never ſpoke to the* QUEEN *about buſineſs, but that ſhe ſometimes gave her petitions, which came to the back-ſtairs, and with which ſhe knew I did not care to be troubled.* And with ſuch inſincere anſwers ſhe thought to colour over the matter, while I knew for certain, ſhe had, before this, obtained penſions for ſeveral of her friends, and had frequently paid to others, out of the privy-purſe, ſums of money, which the QUEEN had ordered me to bring her; and that ſhe was, every day, long with her MAJESTY in private.

But

But thus our converſation ended, and when we had ſat a while ſilent, ſhe roſe up and ſaid, *ſhe hoped I would give her leave to come ſometimes and enquire after my health*; which however, it is plain, ſhe did not deſign to do, for ſhe never once came near me after this. Notwithſtanding which, when ſhe owned her marriage publickly, I went with lady SUNDERLAND to viſit her; not that I intended to have any further intercourſe with her, or to diſſemble the ill opinion I had of her (as I had fully reſolved to let her *then* know, in caſe I found an opportunity of ſpeaking to her privately) but purely out of reſpect to the QUEEN, and to avoid any noiſe or diſagreeable diſcourſe, which my refuſing that ordinary part of civility might occaſion.

Not many days after this, I went to pay my reſpects to the QUEEN in the Chriſtmas holidays, and before I went in, I learnt from the page that Mrs. MASHAM was juſt then ſent for. The moment I ſaw her MAJESTY, I plainly perceived ſhe was very uneaſy. She ſtood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me, as if her intention was, that

I ſhould no longer doubt of my loſs of her affections. Upon obſerving what reception I had, I ſaid, *I was very ſorry I had happened to come ſo unſeaſonably.* I was making my courteſy to go away, when the QUEEN, with a great deal of diſorder in her face, and without ſpeaking one word, took me by the hand: And, when thereupon I ſtooped to kiſs her's, ſhe took me up with a very cold embrace, and then, without one kind word, let me go. So ſtrange a treatment of me, after my long and faithful ſervices, and after ſuch repeated aſſurances from her MAJESTY of an unalterable affection, made me think that I ought, in juſtice to myſelf, as well as in regard to my miſtreſs's intereſt, to write to her in the plaineſt and ſincereſt manner poſſible, and expoſtulate with her upon her change to me and upon the new counſels, by which ſhe ſeemed to be wholly governed. My letter was in theſe terms.

December the 27th. 1707.

'If Mrs. MORLEY will be ſo juſt as to

'reflect

‘ reflect and examine impartially her laſt re-
‘ ception of Mrs. FREEMAN, how very dif-
‘ ferent from what it has been formerly,
‘ when you were glad to ſee her come in,
‘ and ſorry when ſhe went away; certainly
‘ you can't wonder at her reproaches, up-
‘ on an embrace that ſeemed to have no
‘ ſatisfaction in it, but that of getting rid
‘ of her, in order to enjoy the converſation
‘ of one, that has the good fortune to pleaſe
‘ you much better, though I am ſure no
‘ body did ever endeavour it with more
‘ ſincerity than Mrs. FREEMAN has done.
‘ And if I had conſidered only my in-
‘ tereſt and that of my family, I might
‘ have born this change without any com-
‘ plaint. For I believe Mrs. MORLEY would
‘ be ſincere in doing us any good. But I
‘ have once been honoured with an open,
‘ kind confidence and truſt, and that made
‘ all my ſervice agreeable; and it is not
‘ poſſible to loſe it without a mortification
‘ too great to be paſſed with ſilence, being
‘ ſure I have never done any thing to for-
‘ feit it, having never betrayed nor abuſed

'that confidence, by giving you a falſe re-
'preſentation of any body. My temper
'is naturally plain and ſincere, and Mrs.
'MORLEY did like it for many years. It
'is not in the leaſt altered. But I can't
'help thinking thoſe things reaſonable that
'appear to be ſo. And I appeal to GOD
'Almighty, that I never deſigned or pur-
'ſued any thing, but as I was thoroughly
'convinced it was for Mrs. MORLEY's
'true intereſt and honour: And, I think,
'I may ſafely put it to that trial, if any
'thing has yet proved unſucceſsful, that
'was of any publick conſequence, that
'Mrs. FREEMAN has been earneſt to per-
'ſuade Mrs. MORLEY to. And it is not
'poſſible for me to diſſemble ſo as to appear
'what I am not.

'So much by way of apology for what
'happened upon wedneſday laſt. And if
'Mrs. MORLEY has any remains of the
'tenderneſs ſhe once profeſſed for her faith-
'ful FREEMAN, I would beg ſhe might be
'treated one of theſe two ways, either with
'the openneſs and confidence of a friend,

'as ſhe was for twenty years; (for to pretend
'kindneſs without truſt and openneſs of heart
'is a treatment for children, not friends;) or
'elſe in that manner, that is neceſſary for
'the poſt ſhe is in, which unavoidably forces
'her to be often troubling Mrs. MORLEY
'upon the account of others. And if ſhe
'pleaſes to chuſe which of theſe ways, or
'any others ſhe likes to have Mrs. FREE-
'MAN live in, ſhe promiſes to follow any
'rule that is laid down that is poſſible, and
'is reſolved to her life's end, and upon all
'occaſions to ſhew, that Mrs. MORLEY ne-
'ver had a more faithful ſervant.'

My lord MARLBOROUGH or my lord GODOLPHIN (I have forgot which) carried my letter. The QUEEN took no notice of it to either of theſe lords. But ſome days after ſhe wrote me an anſwer, in which ſhe very much ſoftened what had paſt. I was much pleaſed to find her MAJESTY in that diſpoſition; and once more put on as eaſy an appearance as I could.

But in a very ſhort time after this, the great breach at court became public. Lord

MARLBOROUGH and lord GODOLPHIN had often told the QUEEN in the moſt reſpectful manner, that it was impoſſible for them to do her any ſervice, while Mr. HARLEY was in her confidence. Her MAJESTY nevertheleſs ſeemed determined not to part with him; till at length thoſe two lords, being urged by neceſſity to it, declared their reſolution to ſerve no longer with him, and they abſented themſelves from the council. Mr. HARLEY would have proceeded to buſineſs without them when the council met, but the duke of SOMERSET ſaid, he did not ſee how it could be to any purpoſe, when neither the general nor the treaſurer was preſent; whereupon the council immediately broke up. This had ſuch an effect upon the QUEEN, that, very ſoon after, Mr. HARLEY was diſmiſſed from his poſt.

Such a compliance with the miniſters ſeemed to the eyes of the world a very great conceſſion, but was in truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this appearance of giving up Mr. HARLEY was with his own conſent, and by his own advice, who, as long as Mrs. MASHAM continued in favour, would,

would, under pretence of viſiting her, (who was his couſin) have all the opportunities he could wiſh for, of practiſing upon the paſſions and credulity of the QUEEN; and the method of correſponding with him had been ſettled ſome time before; I was fully appri. zed of all this; yet I reſolved to try, if by being eaſy and quiet I could regain any influence with her MAJESTY. She had given me ſome encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before Mr. HARLEY's diſmiſſion, lord MARLBOROUGH reſolved to quit the ſervice, and when on that occaſion I had with tears (which a tender concern at the thought of parting from her MAJESTY made me ſhed) repreſented to her, that if the duke retired, it would be improper, and even impoſſible, for me to ſtay at court after him, ſhe declared, *that ſhe could not bear the thought of my leaving her, and that it muſt never be.* And at that time ſhe made me a promiſe that if ever I ſhould leave her, *(which* ſhe again ſaid *muſt never be)* ſhe would beſtow my Offices among my children.

Nay, the whigs had ſome reaſon to flatter themſelves about this time, that her MAJESTY

would become better diſpoſed to them, than ſhe had hitherto been.

The pretender's attempt to land in Scotland, which happened about this time, gave her an alarm, that ſeemed to bring a conviction along with it, *that the whigs were the moſt to be depended upon for the ſupport of her government*; at leaſt what ſhe ſaid in her anſwer to the lords addreſs, upon the occaſion, had this appearance. But as the danger preſently blew over, and as her fears ceaſed with the cauſe of them, ſo all the hope which the whigs had raiſed in themſelves from thoſe fears, preſently vaniſhed.

However, by the manner in which her MAJESTY wrote to the duke of MARLBOROUGH, in a letter dated May 6, 1708. ſhe ſeems ſtill to have retained a great degree of regard for *him*. After complaining to him of being ſo tired, that day, with importunities from whigs, that ſhe had not ſpirits left to open her afflicted heart ſo freely and fully as ſhe intended, ſhe goes on to ſay, ſhe is entirely of his opinion, thinking it neither for her honour nor intereſt to make ſteps (meaning the firſt ſteps) towards a peace, as the

duke had been preſſed to do abroad; and aſſures him, that whatever inſinuations her enemies might make to the contrary, ſhe would never give her conſent to a peace, but upon ſafe and honourable terms. She begs the duke to be ſo juſt to her, as not to let the miſrepreſentations, made of her, have any weight with him: Adding, that it would be a greater trouble to her than could be expreſſed, and concludes with theſe words, — 'I 'cannot end without begging you to be very 'careful of yourſelf, there being no body, 'I am ſure, that prays more heartily than 'her, who will live and die moſt ſincerely 'yours, *&c.*'

The campaign of 1708. proved very glorious to the duke of MARLBOROUGH by the victory at Oudenarde, the taking of Liſle, and the ſaving of Bruſſels.

Her MAJESTY, on occaſion of the victory, wrote the following letter to him.

'Windſor, July the 6th. 1708.

'I want words to expreſs the joy I have 'that you are well, after your glorious ſuc-'ceſs; for which, next to GOD Almighty,

'my thanks are due to you. And indeed I
'can never ſay enough for all the great and
'faithful ſervices you have ever done me.
'But be ſo juſt as to believe, I am as truly
'ſenſible of them as a grateful heart can be,
'and ſhall be ready to ſhow it upon all oc-
'caſions. I hope you cannot doubt of my
'eſteem and friendſhip for you, nor think
'that becauſe I differ with you in ſome
'things, it is for want of either: no, I do aſſure
'you. If you were here, I am ſure you
'would not think me ſo much in the wrong
'in ſome things, as I fear you do now. I
'am afraid my letter ſhould come too late
'to London, and therefore dare ſay no more,
'but that I pray GOD Almighty to continue
'his protection over you, and ſend you ſafe
'home again. And be aſſured I ſhall ever
'be ſincerely your

'*Humble ſervant.*

To this the duke anſwered,

July 23, 1708.

'MADAM,

'I have the honour of your MAJESTY's

'letter

'letter of the 6th, and am very thankful
'for all your goodneſs to me. And I am
'ſure it will always be my intention, as well
'as duty to be ready to venture my life for
'your ſervice.

'As I have formerly told your MAJESTY
'that I am deſirous to ſerve you in the
'army, but not as a miniſter, I am every
'day more and more confirmed in that opi-
'nion. And I think myſelf obliged upon
'all accounts, on this occaſion, to ſpeak my
'mind freely to you. The circumſtances
'in this laſt battle, I think, ſhew the hand
'of GOD; for we were obliged not only to
'march five leagues that morning, but to
'paſs a river before the enemy, and to en-
'gage them before the whole army was paſ-
'ſed, which was a viſible mark of the favour
'of heaven to you and your arms.

'Your MAJESTY ſhall be convinced from
'this time, that I have no ambition, or
'any thing to aſk for my ſelf or family.
'But I will end the few years which I have
'to live in endeavouring to ſerve you, and
'to give GOD Almighty thanks for his in-
'finite goodneſs to me. But as I have

'taken

‘ taken this reſolution to my ſelf, give me
‘ leave to ſay, that I think you are obliged
‘ in conſcience, and as a good Chriſtian, to
‘ forgive, and to have no more reſentments
‘ to any particular perſon or party, but to
‘ make uſe of ſuch as will carry on this juſt
‘ war with vigour; which is the only way
‘ to preſerve our religion and liberties, and
‘ the crown on your head. Which that you
‘ may long enjoy, and be a bleſſing to your
‘ people, ſhall be the conſtant wiſh and
‘ prayer of him, that is with the greateſt
‘ truth and duty,

‘ Madam, &c.’

But now, what was very ſtrange, the ſucceſſes of my lord MARLBOROUGH this year ſeemed rather to lower his credit with her MAJESTY, than to raiſe it; a thing ſo extremely out of the common courſe of nature, that no one, I think, can doubt of it's being the pure effect of art, the product of that wonderful talent Mr. HARLEY poſſeſſed, in the ſupreme degree, of confounding the common ſenſe of mankind.

The

The duke was perfectly ſenſible of the change in her MAJESTY towards him, and having complained of it in a letter to me, I ſent this letter to her, incloſed in the following one from myſelf.

'I cannot help ſending your MAJESTY 'this letter, to ſhew how exactly lord 'MARLBOROUGH agrees with me in my opi-'nion, that he has now no intereſt with you: 'Though when I ſaid ſo in the church on '*thurſday, you were pleaſed to ſay it 'was untrue. And yet I think he will be 'ſurprized to hear that when I had taken 'ſo much pains to put your jewels in a way 'that I thought you would like, Mrs. MA-'SHAM could make you refuſe to wear 'them, in ſo unkind a manner; becauſe 'that was a power ſhe had not thought fit 'to exerciſe before. I will make no reflecti-'ons upon it; only that I muſt needs obſerve, 'that your MAJESTY choſe a very wrong 'day to mortify me, when you were juſt 'going to return thanks for a victory obtain-'ed by lord MARLBOROUGH.'

* 19 Aug. 1708.

In

In anſwer to this, her MAJESTY was pleaſed to write to me theſe few words.

Sunday.

'After the *commands* you gave me on the 'thankſgiving day of not anſwering you, 'I ſhould not have troubled you with theſe 'lines, but to return the duke of MARL-'BOROUGH's letter ſafe into your hands, 'and for the ſame reaſon do not ſay any 'thing to that, nor to yours which encloſed 'it.'

Upon receiving ſo extraordinary a letter, I could not avoid writing again as follows.

'I ſhould not trouble your MAJESTY 'with any anſwer to your laſt ſhort letter, 'but to explain what you ſeem to miſtake 'in what I ſaid at church. I deſired you 'not to anſwer me there for fear of being 'overheard. And this you interpret as if I 'had deſired you not to anſwer me at all; 'which was far from my intention. For 'the whole end of my writing to you ſo

'often,

‘ often, was to get your anſwer to ſeveral
‘ things in which we differed, that if I was
‘ in the wrong, you might convince me of
‘ it, and I ſhould very readily have owned
‘ my miſtakes. But ſince you have not been
‘ pleaſed to ſhow them to me, I flatter my-
‘ ſelf that I have ſaid ſeveral things to you
‘ that are unanſwerable. And I hope ſome
‘ time or other you will find leiſure to reflect
‘ upon them, and will convince lord MARL-
‘ BOROUGH, that he is miſtaken in think-
‘ ing that he has no credit with you, by
‘ hearkening ſometimes to his advice; and
‘ then I hope you will never more be trou-
‘ bled with diſagreeable letters from me:
‘ for I ſhould be much better pleaſed to ſay
‘ and do every thing you like. But I ſhould
‘ think myſelf wanting in my duty to you,
‘ if I ſaw you ſo much in the wrong, as
‘ without prejudice or paſſion, I really think
‘ you are in ſeveral particulars I have men-
‘ tioned, and did not tell you of it. And
‘ the rather, becauſe no body elſe cares to
‘ ſpeak out upon ſo ungrateful a ſubject.
‘ The word *command*, which you uſe at the
‘ beginning of your letter, is very unfitly

‘ ſuppoſed to come from me. For though
‘ I have always writ to you as a friend, and
‘ lived with you as ſuch for ſo many years
‘ with all the truth and honeſty and zeal for
‘ your ſervice that was poſſible, yet I ſhall ne-
‘ ver forget that I am your ſubject, nor ceaſe
‘ to be a faithful one.’

Through the whole ſummer after Mr. HARLEY’s diſmiſſion, the QUEEN continued to have ſecret correſpondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, ſhe ſtaid all the ſultry ſeaſon, even when the PRINCE was panting for breath, in that ſmall houſe, ſhe had formerly purchaſed at Windſor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then ſaid to be cool, becauſe from the park ſuch perſons, as Mrs. MASHAM had a mind to bring to her MAJESTY, could be let in privately by the garden.

And when upon the death of the PRINCE, one would have thought that her MAJESTY’S real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object that might ſenſibly revive the remembrance of her loſs, ſhe choſe for her place of retirement his cloſet, and for

ſome

ſome weeks, ſpent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this; and when I ſpoke to her of it, ſhe ſeemed ſurpriſed, juſt like a perſon who on a ſudden becomes ſenſible of her having done ſomething ſhe would not have done, had ſhe duly conſidered. But the true reaſon of her MAJESTY's chuſing this cloſet to ſit in, was, that the back-ſtairs belonging to it came from Mrs. MASHAM's lodgings, who by that means could ſecretly bring to her whom ſhe pleaſed.

And that a correſpondence was thus carried on with Mr. HARLEY, became every day more and more manifeſt by the difficulties and objections which her MAJESTY had learnt to raiſe againſt almoſt every thing propoſed by her miniſters. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. HARLEY and his aſſociates, when at length they had compaſſed their deſigns, and got into the management of affairs, did often (both in their cups and out of them) boaſt that they, while the QUEEN's miniſters were aſleep, were frequently at court giving advice in ſecret, how to perplex them in all their meaſures.

But

But they were much miſtaken, if they imagined that their proceedings at the time I am ſpeaking of, were ſo entirely covered. The miniſters were fully convinced of the truth, and frequently repreſented to her MAJESTY, what a diſcouragement it was to them in their endeavours for her ſervice, to find that ſhe had no confidence in them, but was influenced by the counſel of others who counterworked them in every inſtance. Upon this ſubject, I myſelf wrote and ſpoke a great deal to her with my uſual plainneſs and zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no impreſſion on her in this reſpect, but that her change towards *me* in particular was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and beg'd to know what my crime was, that had wrought in her ſo great an alteration. This drew from the QUEEN a letter, dated October 26, 1709. wherein ſhe charges me *with inveteracy* (as her word is) *againſt poor* MASHAM, and *with having nothing ſo much at heart as the ruin of my couſin.* In ſpeaking of the miſunderſtandings betwixt her MAJESTY and me, ſhe ſays, they are *for nothing that ſhe knows of, but becauſe*

ſhe

ſhe cannot ſee with my eyes, and hear with my ears. And I adds, *that it is impoſſible for me to recover her former kindneſs, but that ſhe ſhall behave herſelf to me, as the duke of* MARLBOROUGH's *wife, and her groom of the ſtole.* This declaration ſo plain and expreſs of her MAJESTY's thorough change towards me, was the more extraordinary, as in this ſame letter are theſe words, *you have asked me once or twice if you had committed any fault that I was ſo changed, and I told you, no; becauſe I do not think it a crime in any one not to be of my mind.*

Upon receipt of this letter, I immediately ſet myſelf to draw up a long narrative of a ſeries of faithful ſervices for about 26 years paſt; of the great ſenſe the QUEEN formerly had of my ſervices; of the great favour I had been honoured with on account of them; of the uſe I had made of that favour; and of my loſing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raiſed out of the duſt. And knowing how great a reſpect her MAJESTY had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added

to my narrative, the directions given by the author of the *whole duty of man* with relation to friendſhip; the directions in the *common prayer book* before the communion with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by biſhop TAYLOR upon the ſame head; and I concluded with giving my word to her MAJESTY, that if after reading theſe, ſhe would pleaſe only to anſwer in two words, that ſhe was ſtill of the ſame opinion, as when ſhe wrote that harſh letter, which occaſioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the leaſt trouble upon any ſubject, but the buſineſs of my office, as long as I ſhould have the honour to continue her ſervant; aſſuring her, that however ſhe might be changed towards me, and how much ſoever we might ſtill differ in opinion, I ſhould ever remember that ſhe was my miſtreſs and my QUEEN, and ſhould always pay her the reſpect due from a faithful ſervant and dutiful ſubject.

I ſent from St. Albans this narrative, which ſhe promiſed to read and anſwer. And ten days after, writing to me upon an-

other occaſion, ſhe ſaid ſhe had not leiſure yet to read all my papers, but when ſhe had, ſhe would ſend me ſome anſwer. But none ever came; nor had my papers any apparent effect on her MAJESTY, except that, after my coming to town, as ſhe was paſſing by me, in order to receive the communion, ſhe looked with much good nature and very graciouſly ſmiled upon me. But the ſmile and pleaſant look I had reaſon afterwards to think were given to biſhop TAYLOR and the *common prayer book*, and not to me.

In the beginning of January $17\frac{9}{10}$. the earl of ESSEX died; and the QUEEN preſently wrote to the duke of MARLBOROUGH to give his regiment to Mr. HILL, a man who had been baſely ungrateful to me who raiſed him; and whoſe ſiſter, Mrs. MASHAM, the duke well knew was at this time undermining the intereſt of himſelf, his family and friends.

The ſcheme of the QUEEN's new counſellors to make her miniſters quit her ſervice, or engage her to diſcard them, began

now to appear without diſguiſe. They durſt not tell her MAJESTY at once all they deſigned, but, propoſing to her only one thing at a time, led her by inſenſible degrees to the accompliſhment of the whole. They began, as I before obſerved, with engaging her to nominate perſons to biſhopricks without conſulting her miniſters. And now they prevailed with her to appoint military officers, without adviſing with her general. And nothing could be more to their purpoſe, than this choice of Mr. HILL for lord ESSEX's regiment, becauſe they knew that nothing could be more diſagreeable to the duke of MARLBOROUGH, or would tend more to leſſen his weight and authority in the army, and conſequently at home too. The new counſellors ſaw that if the duke readily yielded in this matter, it would ſow diſcontent among the officers, and that a door would be opened for his enemies to come into the army and inſult him. And on the other hand, if the duke ſhould not comply, or ſhould ſhow any reluctance in complying, this would furniſh

an excellent pretence for grievous complaints and outcries, *that the* QUEEN *was but a cypher and could do nothing*. It was indeed by repreſenting her to herſelf, as a ſlave to the MARLBOROUGH family, that they worked upon her paſſions; while at the ſame time (as is too evident) they meant to make her in reality *their* ſlave, to do for them thoſe drudgeries that would diſhonour her inſtead of following the counſels of miniſters, whoſe fidelity ſhe had experienced, and who had carried her glory to the higheſt pitch.

Upon this meſſage from the QUEEN, the duke waited upon her, and with all humility repreſented to her, what a prejudice it would be to her ſervice, to have ſo young an officer preferred before ſo many others of higher rank and longer ſervice. Beſides, that the ſhewing ſo extraordinary and partial favour to Mrs. MASHAM's brother, could be interpreted no otherwiſe than as a declaring againſt all thoſe who had ſo much reaſon to be uneaſy with her; and that indeed it would be ſetting up a banner for all

the diſcontented perſons in the army to repair to. In ſhort, the duke ſaid every thing he could think of, and with all the moving concern that the nature of the affair created in him, to engage her MAJESTY to change her reſolution. But all ſeemed to no purpoſe. He could not draw one kind expreſſion from her, nor obtain any anſwer, but *that he would do well to adviſe with his friends*.

Lord GODOLPHIN ſpoke often to her upon the ſame ſubject, repreſenting to her the duke's long, great, and faithful ſervices, and the very bad influence which her intended favour to Mr. HILL muſt neceſſarily have in the army. But neither had this ſo much effect as to engage her to ſay one favourable word about the duke. On the 15th of January therefore he left the town and went to Windſor in great diſcontent. It was council-day. The QUEEN did not aſk where he was, nor take the leaſt notice of his abſence. His withdrawing himſelf made a great noiſe in the town. Many of the nobility ſpoke with earneſtneſs to

the QUEEN of the very ill conſequences of mortifying a man, who had done her ſo long and important ſervices. Her MAJESTY anſwered, that his ſervices were ſtill freſh in her memory, and that ſhe had as much kindneſs for him as ever ſhe had. The noiſe however ſtill continued and increaſed, and there was great diſcourſe, not without probability, that ſome notice would be taken of the matter in the houſe of commons, and ſome votes paſt diſagreeable to her MAJESTY and her new counſellors. This deſign was laid to my charge, but I ſaid enough to the QUEEN to vindicate myſelf from it. And it was indeed owing to the duke's particular friends in the houſe, that no ſuch notice was taken.

The new counſellors being alarmed with apprehenſions of what the parliament might do, and believing that they ſhould be able at a proper ſeaſon to make better uſe of the QUEEN's yielding up the point, than of her inſiſting upon it, gave her advice accordingly: ſo that January the 20th, ſhe ordered lord GODOLPHIN to write to the

duke, *that he might diſpoſe of the regiment as he himſelf thought fit*: and to deſire him to come to town. But before this reached Lord MARLBOROUGH, he had written the following letter to the QUEEN.

'MADAM,

'By what I hear from London, I find 'your MAJESTY is pleaſed to think, that 'when I have reflected, I muſt be of opi-'nion, that you are in the right in giving 'Mr. HILL the earl of ESSEX's regiment. 'I beg your MAJESTY will be ſo juſt to 'me, as not to think I can be ſo unreaſo-'nable, as to be mortified to the degree 'that I am, if it proceeded only from this 'one thing; for I ſhall always be ready and 'glad to do every thing that is agreeable 'to you, after I have repreſented what may 'be a prejudice to your ſervice. But this 'is only one of a great many mortifications, 'that I have met with. And as I may 'not have many opportunities of writing 'to you, let me beg of your MAJESTY 'to reflect what your own people, and the

'reſt

'reſt of the world muſt think, who have
'been witneſſes of the love, zeal and du-
'ty, with which I have ſerved you, when
'they ſhall ſee that after all I have done,
'it has not been able to protect me againſt
'the malice of a bed-chamber woman.
'YOUR MAJESTY will allow me on this
'occaſion to re-mind you of what I writ
'to you the laſt campaign, of the certain
'knowledge I had of Mrs. MASHAM's
'having aſſured Mr. HARLEY, that I
'ſhould receive ſuch conſtant mortificati-
'ons, as ſhould make it impoſſible for me
'to continue in your ſervice. GOD Al-
'mighty and the whole world are my wit-
'neſſes, with what care and pains I have
'ſerved you for more than twenty years,
'and I was reſolved, if poſſible, to have
'ſtruggled with the difficulties to the end
'of this war. But the many inſtances I
'have had of your MAJESTY's great
'change to me, has ſo broke my ſpirits,
'that I muſt beg as the greateſt and laſt
'favour, that you will approve of my re-
'tiring, ſo that I may employ the little

'time

‘ time I have to live, in making my *juſt*
‘ acknowledgments to GOD, for the pro-
‘ tection he has been pleaſed to give me.
‘ And your MAJESTY may be aſſured that
‘ my zeal for you and my country is ſo
‘ great, that in my retirement I ſhall daily
‘ pray for your proſperity, and that thoſe,
‘ who ſhall ſerve you as faithfully as I have
‘ done, may never feel the hard return
‘ that I have met with.

The QUEEN wrote him an anſwer, expreſſing ſome concern at ſeveral parts of his letter, aſſuring him, without entring into particulars, that he had no ground for ſuſpicions, and deſiring him to come to town.

But fearing at the ſame time that ſome motion might be made in parliament againſt Mrs. MASHAM, which might be attended with very diſagreeable conſequences, ſhe ſent about in much concern, to many perſons to ſtand by her, as if ſome great attack were going to be made upon her. This application and the cloſetting ſome perſons, who were known enemies to the Revoluti-

‘ on,

on, gave encouragement to the jacobites; ſeveral of whom were now obſerved running to court with faces full of buſineſs and ſatisfaction, as if they were going to get the government into their hands. And this being repreſented to the QUEEN, as a kind of victory gained by her over the MARLBOROUGH family, was doubtleſs one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation.

In about a month after this, both houſes of parliament addreſſed the QUEEN, to order the duke of MARLBOROUGH over into Holland, to attend to the great affair of a peace, (towards which there were then ſome overtures) and in caſe that project did not take effect, to prepare for an early opening the campaign.

The QUEEN in her anſwer to that addreſs uſed theſe words.—'I am very glad 'to find by this addreſs, that you concur 'with me in a juſt ſenſe of the duke of 'MARLBOROUH's eminent ſervices.'

But notwithſtanding this, he had not been long gone, before her MAJESTY gave a ſignal

a ſignal proof how much his declared enemies were in her favour, by granting Mr. HILL a penſion of 1000 *l.* a year. (And in ſome time, ſhe made both him and Mr. MASHAM (men of little or no ſervice) general officers, over the heads of many brave men, who had frequently hazarded their lives in her ſervice, and had gone through the toils and hardſhips of a tedious war.)

In the mean time, as to myſelf, I learnt that the QUEEN was made to believe, that I often ſpoke of her in company diſreſpectfully. As I knew myſelf wholly free from the guilt of this charge, and indeed incapable of it, I waited on her MAJESTY the 3d of April 1710. and begged of her that ſhe would be pleaſed to give me a private hour, becauſe I had ſomething which I was very deſirous of ſaying to her MAJESTY, before I went out of town. I named three ſeveral hours, in which I knew the QUEEN uſed to be alone, but ſhe refuſed them all, in a very unuſual and ſurprizing manner: and at laſt ſhe herſelf appointed 6 o'clock

the

the next day, the hour for prayers, when ſhe could leaſt of all expect to be at leiſure for any particular converſation. But even this ſmall favour, though promiſed, was not thought adviſable to be granted by her new counſellors. For, that night, ſhe wrote a letter to me, in which ſhe deſired me *to lay before her in writing whatever I had to ſay, and to gratify myſelf in going into the country as ſoon as I could.* I took the firſt opportunity of waiting upon the QUEEN again, and uſed all the arguments I could to obtain a private hour; alledging, that when her MAJESTY ſhould hear what I had to ſay, ſhe would herſelf perceive it impoſſible to put things of that nature into writing; that I was now going out of town for a great while, and perhaps ſhould never have occaſion to give her a like trouble as long as I lived. The QUEEN refuſed it ſeveral times in a manner hard to be deſcribed, but at laſt appointed the next day after dinner. Yet upon farther conſideration it was thought adviſable to break this appointment: for, the next morning, ſhe

wrote

wrote to me to let me know, *that ſhe ſhould dine at Kenſington, and that ſhe once more deſired me to put my thoughts into writing.*

To this I wrote an anſwer, begging that her MAJESTY would give me leave to follow her to Kenſington; and, that ſhe might not apprehend a greater trouble than ſhe would receive, I aſſured her MAJESTY, that what I had to ſay, would not create any diſpute or uneaſineſs, (it relating only to the clearing myſelf from ſome things which, I had heard, had very wrongfully been laid to my charge,) and could have no conſequence, either in obliging her MAJESTY to anſwer, or to ſee me oftner than would be eaſy to her: adding, that if that afternoon were not convenient, I would come every day and wait till her MAJESTY would pleaſe to allow me to ſpeak to her. Upon the ſixth of April I followed this letter to Kenſington, and by that means prevented the QUEEN's writing again to me, as ſhe was preparing to do. The page who went in to acquaint the QUEEN, that I was come to wait upon her, ſtaid longer than

uſual;

uſual; long enough, it is to be ſuppoſed, to give time to deliberate whether the favour of admiſſion ſhould be granted, and to ſettle the meaſures of behaviour if I were admitted. But at laſt he came out, and told me I might go in. As I was entring the QUEEN ſaid, ſhe was juſt going to write to me. And, when I began to ſpeak, ſhe interrupted me four or five times with theſe repeated words, '*whatever you* '*have to ſay, you may put it in writing.*' I ſaid, her MAJESTY never did ſo a hard a thing to any, as to refuſe to hear them ſpeak, and aſſured her, that I was not going to trouble her upon the ſubject which I knew to be ſo ungrateful to her, but that I could not poſſibly reſt, till I had cleared myſelf from ſome particular calumnies with which I had been loaded. I then went on to ſpeak (though the QUEEN turned away her face from me) and to repreſent my hard caſe; that there were thoſe about her MAJESTY, who had made her believe that I had ſaid things of her, which I was no more capable of ſaying than of killing

my

my own children; that I ſeldom named her MAJESTY in company, and never without reſpect, and the like. The QUEEN ſaid, *without doubt there were many lies told.* I then begged, in order to make this trouble the ſhorter, and my own innocence the plainer, that I might know the particulars of which I had been accuſed. Becauſe, if I were guilty, that would quickly appear; and if I were innocent, this method only would clear me. The QUEEN replied, that *ſhe would give me no anſwer*, laying hold on a word in my letter, that what I had to ſay in my own vindication, *would have no conſequence in obliging her* MAJESTY *to anſwer*, &c. which ſurely did not at all imply, that I did not deſire to know the particular things laid to my charge, without which it was impoſſible for me to clear myſelf. This I aſſured her MAJESTY was all I deſired, and that *I did not aſk the names of the authors or relators of thoſe calumnies*, ſaying all that I could think reaſonable, to inforce my juſt requeſt. But the QUEEN repeated again and

again

again the words ſhe had uſed, without ever receding. And it is probable that this Converſation had never been conſented to, but that her MAJESTY had been carefully provided with thoſe words, as a ſhield to defend her againſt every reaſon I could offer. I proteſted to her MAJESTY, that I had no deſign, in giving her this trouble, to ſolicit the return of her favour, but that my ſole view was to clear myſelf; which was too juſt a deſign to be wholly diſappointed by her MAJESTY. Upon this, the QUEEN offered to go out of the room, I following her, and begging leave to clear myſelf; and the QUEEN repeating over and over again, *you deſired no anſwer, and ſhall have none.* When ſhe came to the door, I fell into great diſorder; ſtreams of tears flow'd down againſt my will, and prevented my ſpeaking for ſome time. At length I recovered myſelf, and appealed to the QUEEN, in the vehemence of my concern, whether I might not ſtill have been happy in her MAJESTY's favour, if I could have contradicted or diſſembled my real opinion of

men, or things? whether I had ever, during our long friendſhip, told her one lie, or play'd the hypocrite once? whether I had offended in any thing, unleſs in a very zealous preſſing upon her, that which I thought neceſſary for her ſervice and ſecurity? I then ſaid I was informed by a very reaſonable and credible perſon about the court, that things were laid to my charge, of which I was wholly uncapable; that this perſon knew that ſuch ſtories were perpetually told to her MAJESTY to incenſe her, and had beg'd of me to come and vindicate myſelf; that the ſame perſon had thought me of late guilty of ſome omiſſions towards her MAJESTY, being entirely ignorant how uneaſy to her my frequent attendance muſt be, after what had happened between us. I explained ſome things which I had heard her MAJESTY had taken amiſs of me, and then with a freſh flood of tears, and a concern ſufficient to move compaſſion, even where all love was abſent, I begged to know what other particulars ſhe had heard of me, that I might not be denied

all power of juſtifying myſelf. But ſtill the only return was, *you deſired no anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* I then begged to know if her MAJESTY would tell me ſome other time?—*You deſired no anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* I then appealed to her MAJESTY again, if ſhe did not herſelf know that I had often deſpiſed intereſt in compariſon of ſerving her faithfully and doing right? And whether ſhe did not know me to be of a temper uncapable of diſowning any thing which I knew to be true?—*You deſired no anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* This uſage was ſo ſevere, and theſe words, ſo often repeated, were ſo ſhocking (being an utter denial of common juſtice to one who had been a moſt faithful ſervant, and now aſked nothing more) that I could not conquer myſelf, but ſaid the moſt diſreſpectful thing I ever ſpoke to the QUEEN in my life, and yet, what ſuch an occaſion and ſuch circumſtances might well excuſe, if not juſtify. And that was, that *I was confident her* MAJESTY *would ſuffer for ſuch an inſtance of inhumanity.*

The QUEEN anſwer'd, *that will be to myſelf.* Thus ended this remarkable converſation, the laſt I ever had with her MAJESTY. I ſhall make no comment upon it. The QUEEN always meant well, how much ſoever ſhe might be blinded or miſguided. But in a letter, which I had from the duke of MARLBOROUGH, about eight months before, there is ſomething ſo pertinent to the preſent occaſion, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing the paſſage.

'Aug. 26, 1709.

—'It has always been my obſervation
'in diſputes, eſpecially in that of kindneſs
'and friendſhip, that all reproaches, though
'ever ſo juſt, ſerve to no end but making
'the breach wider. I cannot help being
'of opinion, that however inſignificant we
'may be, there is a power above, that puts
'a period to our happineſs or unhappineſs.
'If any body had told me, eight years ago,
'that after ſuch great ſucceſs, and after
'you had been a faithful ſervant 27 years,
'that even in the QUEEN's life-time, we

'ſhould be obliged to ſeek happineſs in a 'retired life, I could not have believed 'that poſſible.'

I never ſaw the QUEEN after the interview I have been ſpeaking of, nor ever had any correſpondence with her, except on two occaſions relating to the publick, one of which I ſhall now mention, becauſe it was the very next day after our parting. I received a letter from lord MARLBOROUGH, with one encloſed to lord GODOLPHIN, who was then at New-market, and whoſe letters, at ſuch times, and when diſpatch was required, I had the privilege to open. In this letter the duke gave lord GODOLPHIN an account of a man then coming to England, who, as prince EUGENE informed him, had been guilty of many vile practices at Vienna, and was a very great villain, deſiring that he might not be admitted to ſee the QUEEN, but be immediately ſent out of England. Hereupon I wrote a letter to her MAJESTY, in which, after ſaying that I thought it my duty to

impart to her without delay what ſo nearly concerned her, I added, that I could not forbear taking notice of the uſage I had met with, the day before, when I waited upon her; and when my only buſineſs was to beg to be heard on a point that touched me very ſenſibly, in order to clear myſelf from what had been laid to my charge, if I were innocent; or to beg pardon, if in any thing I had done amiſs.

All the anſwer I received to this letter was in theſe few words, dated from Kenſington.

'I received yours, with one encloſed 'from the D. of M. to lord treaſurer, 'juſt as I was coming down ſtairs from 'St. James's, ſo could not return the en-'cloſed back, till I came to this place.'

But notwithſtanding this thorough alienation of the QUEEN's affections from me, I was not yet diveſted of my employments. Perhaps it was not yet determined who ſhould ſucceed me, nor whether it were proper, that lord MARLBOROUGH ſhould have that mortification, before the ſeaſon was fully ripe for the execution of the new

ſcheme. Matters had been greatly advanced towards maturity by the buſineſs of SACHEVEREL, which had engaged the attention of the nation for the greater part of the laſt winter. Every body knows that whole ſtory, and the terrible cry that was raiſed about the danger of the church, from the attempt that was made in a parliamentary way, to puniſh an ignorant, impudent incendiary, a man who was the ſcorn even of thoſe, who made uſe of him as a tool. I ſhall only obſerve that the duke of SHREWSBURY, who had voted for the acquittal of that ſcurrilous declaimer againſt the QUEEN's miniſters, was, in about three weeks after, appointed lord chamberlain by her MAJESTY.

When the QUEEN had reſolved to make this ſtep, ſhe thought fit to write to my lord GODOLPHIN, then at New-market, to acquaint him with her reſolution, and that ſhe hoped ſhe ſhould have his approbation in this and all her actions. The anſwer which he returned to her MAJESTY is ſo great a proof of his honeſt heart and

clear underſtanding, and of the injuſtice of thoſe whigs, who did not ſcruple to call in queſtion his zeal and even his ſincerity in their cauſe, that I think it is but diſcharging a debt I owe to his memory, to give a copy of his letter.

'New-market, April 15, 1710.

'I have the honour of your MAJESTY's 'letter of the 13th, by which I have the 'grief to find that what you are *pleaſed* to 'call ſpleen in my former letter, was only 'a true impulſe and conviction of mind, 'that your MAJESTY is ſuffering yourſelf 'to be guided to your own ruin and de-'ſtruction as faſt as it is poſſible for them 'to compaſs it, to whom you *ſeem ſo much* 'to hearken.

'I am not therefore ſo much ſurprized, 'as concerned at the reſolution which your 'MAJESTY ſays you have taken, of bring-'ing in the duke of SHREWSBURY. For 'when people began to be ſenſible it would 'be difficult to perſuade your MAJESTY 'to diſſolve a parliament, which, for two

'winters

'winters together, had given you above ſix
'millions a year for the ſupport of a war,
'upon which your crown depends; even
'while that war is ſtill ſubſiſting, they
'have had the cunning to contrive this
'propoſal to your MAJESTY, which in it's
'conſequence will certainly put you under
'a neceſſity of breaking the parliament,
'though contrary (I yet believe) to your
'mind and intention.

'I beg your MAJESTY to be perſuaded, I
'do not ſay this out of the leaſt prejudice to
'the duke of SHREWSBURY. There is no
'man of whoſe capacity I have had a bet-
'ter impreſſion, nor with whom I have
'lived more eaſily and freely for above
'twenty years. Your MAJESTY may pleaſe
'to remember, that at your firſt coming to
'the crown, I was deſirous he ſhould have
'had one of the chief poſts in your ſervice;
'and it would have been happy for your
'MAJESTY and the kingdom, if he had
'accepted that offer: But he thought fit
'to decline it, and the reaſons generally
'given at that time for his doing ſo, do

'not

'not much recommend him to your MA-
'JESTY's ſervice. But I muſt endeavour
'to let your MAJESTY ſee things as
'they really are. And to bring him into
'your ſervice and into your buſineſs at this
'time, juſt after his being in a publick
'open conjunction in every vote with the
'whole body of the tories, and in a pri-
'vate, conſtant correſpondence and ca-
'balling with Mr. HARLEY in every thing,
'what conſequence can this poſſibly have,
'but to make every man that is now in
'your cabinet. council, except
'to run from it as they
'would from the plague. And I leave it to
'your MAJESTY to judge, what effect this
'entire change of your miniſters will have
'among your allies abroad, and how well
'this war is like to be carried on, in their
'opinion, by thoſe who have all along op-
'poſed and obſtructed it, and who will like
'any peace the better, the more it leaves
'France at liberty, to take their time of
'impoſing the Pretender upon this country.
'Theſe conſiderations muſt certainly
'make

'make Holland run immediately into a ſe-
'parate peace with France, and make your
'MAJESTY loſe all the honour, and all the
'reputation your arms had acquired by
'the war; and make the kingdom loſe
'all the fruits of that vaſt expence which
'they have been at in this war, as well as
'all the advantage and ſafety which they
'had ſo much need of, and had ſo fair a
'proſpect of obtaining by it. And can any
'body imagine that after ſo great a diſap-
'pointment to the kingdom, there will not
'be an enquiry into the cauſes of it; and
'who have been the occaſion of ſo great
'a change in your MAJESTY's meaſures
'and counſels, which had been ſo long
'ſucceſsful, and gotten you ſo great a
'name in the world? I am very much
'afraid your MAJESTY will find, when it
'is too late, that it will be a pretty difficult
'task for any body to ſtand againſt ſuch
'an enquiry. I am ſure if I did not think
'all theſe conſequences inevitable, I would
'never give your MAJESTY the trouble and
'uneaſineſs of laying them before you. But,

'perſuaded

'perſuaded as I am that your MAJESTY will
'find them ſo, it is my indiſpenſable duty
'to do it out of pure faithfulneſs and zeal
'for your MAJESTY's ſervice and ho-
'nour. Your MAJESTY's having taken a re-
'ſolution of ſo much conſequence to all
'your affairs both at home and abroad,
'without acquainting the duke of MARL-
'BOROUGH or me with it, till after you
'had taken it, is the leaſt part of my mor-
'tification in this whole affair. Though
'perhaps the world may think the long
'and faithful ſervices we have conſtantly
'and zealouſly endeavoured to do your
'MAJESTY, might have deſerved a little
'more conſideration. However for my
'own part, I moſt humbly beg leave to
'aſſure your MAJESTY, I will never give
'the leaſt obſtruction to your meaſures, or
'to any miniſters you ſhall pleaſe to employ.
'And I muſt beg further, to make two hum-
'ble requeſts to your MAJESTY, the one,
'that you will allow me to paſs the re-
'mainder of my life always out of London,
'where I may find moſt eaſe and quiet. The

'other, that you would keep this letter and
'read it again about next Chriſtmas, and
'then be pleaſed to make your own judg-
'ment, who hath given you the beſt and
'moſt faithful advice,

I am, &c.

I think it is pretty plain from the QUEEN's letter, to which, what I have juſt now given, was an anſwer, that her new counſellors did not open their whole ſcheme to her at once. For if they had, they certainly could never have engaged her to tell my lord GODOLPHIN, that *ſhe hoped he would approve of all her actions.* But they judged wiſely, that paſſing on under their direction from one ſtep to another, ſhe would quickly come to a deſperate neceſſity of going as far as they themſelves wiſhed.

About the beginning of June, the deſign of turning out lord SUNDERLAND began to be talked of. Lord MARLBOROUGH was now abroad at the head of the army.

As ſoon as the news of this deſign reached him, he wrote a very moving let-

ter

ter to the QUEEN, repreſenting the very ill conſequences it would neceſſarily have upon all affairs abroad, to have his ſon-in-law, againſt whoſe fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the allies had ſo entire a confidence, turned out of her ſervice in the middle of a campaign; and begging it as a reward of all his paſt ſervices, that ſhe would at leaſt delay her reſolution till the campaign was ended. I was likewiſe urged by ſome *friends* to try to ſay ſomething to divert if poſſible ſuch a ſtroke; becauſe it was given out that the QUEEN would do this chiefly on my account, that I might feel the effects of her diſpleaſure in ſo ſenſible and tender a point. No conſideration *proper to myſelf*, could have induced me to trouble the QUEEN again, after our laſt converſation. But I was overcome by the conſideration of lord MARLBOROUGH, lord SUNDERLAND and the publick intereſt, and wrote in the beſt manner I could to the QUEEN *June* 7, 1710. begging, for lord MARLBOROUGH's ſake, that ſhe would not give him ſuch a

blow, of which I dreaded the conſequence, putting her in mind of her letter about the duke upon the victory at Blenheim; and adding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that I had not ſo much as a wiſh to remove Mrs. MASHAM, and that all the noiſe which had been about an addreſs for that purpoſe, had been occaſioned by lord MARLBOROUGH's diſcontents at that time, which moſt people thought were juſt. To this the QUEEN wrote a very ſhort and harſh anſwer, complaining that I had broke my promiſe of not ſaying any thing of politicks, or of Mrs. MASHAM; and concluding, that it was plain from this ill uſage what ſhe was to expect for the future.

I could not forbear, for my own vindication, to write a ſecond letter, in which I aſſured her MAJESTY, that I ſhould not have troubled her with the firſt, but that I heard it reported, that the perſecution, begun againſt lord MARLBOROUGH and his family, was chiefly occaſioned by her MAJESTY's diſpleaſure and averſion to me, as having promoted an addreſs againſt Mrs. MASHAM;

that

that it was only to vindicate myſelf from that aſperſion, that I had preſumed to trouble her; that I could not imagine it could be interpreted as an offence, to vindicate myſelf from what was now made the pretence for turning out lord SUNDERLAND, and puſhing lord MARLBOROUGH to extremities; that I had no reaſon to think, that the aſſuring her MAJESTY, that I would never have any hand in any thing againſt Mrs. MASHAM, could have been conſtrued as an ungrateful ſpeaking about her, or called a continuation of ill uſage; that I thought this was rather a complying with her MAJESTY's inclination, and ſaying what ſhe could not but approve; that all the politicks in my letter was my concern for lord MARLBOROUGH; making it at laſt my moſt earneſt requeſt, that her MAJESTY would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This, I added, I begged upon my knees, and left her MAJESTY to judge whether, after ſuch an expreſſion, it was likely that I ſhould ever enter into any thing that could diſpleaſe her.

Whether

Whether my interfering in this matter haſtened the execution of the deſign, I cannot ſay. Certain it is that it did not retard it, for lord SUNDERLAND was preſently after diſmiſſed from his office. On which occaſion ſeveral great men, who wiſhed well to their country, and who feared that my lord MARLBOROUGH might in diſguſt quit the ſervice, immediately wrote him a joint letter, which I ſhall here inſert, in honour both of them and of the duke.

'MY LORD, June 14, 1710.

'We ſhould not have given your grace 'the trouble of this joint letter, but for 'the great concern and uneaſineſs in which 'we find you, on account of my lord SUN-'DERLAND, by your letter of the 20th to 'my lord treaſurer, which he has com-'municated to us. That letter, as mov-'ing and as reaſonable as it was, has not 'hindered the ſeals from being taken this 'morning from my lord SUNDERLAND. No 'wonder then if the utmoſt endeavours 'which could be uſed to prevent it, and

'the ſtrong arguments which have been
'made of the ill conſequences, that muſt
'attend ſuch ſteps both at home and a-
'broad have met with ſo little ſucceſs. We
'find ourſelves ſo much afflicted with this
'misfortune, that we cannot but be ex-
'tremely ſenſible of the great mortification
'this muſt give you at this critical junc-
'ture, when you are every moment ha-
'zarding your life in the ſervice of your
'country, and whilſt the fate of *Europe*
'depends in ſo great a degree on your con-
'duct and good ſucceſs: But we are alſo as
'fully convinced that it is impoſſible for your
'grace to quit the ſervice at this time,
'without the utmoſt hazard to the whole
'alliance. And we muſt therefore conjure
'you by the glory you have already ob-
'tained, by the many ſervices you have
'done your QUEEN and country, by the
'expectation you have juſtly raiſed in all
'Europe, and by all that is dear and tender
'to you at home, whoſe chief dependance
'is upon your ſucceſs, that you would
'not leave this great work unfiniſhed, but

'continue at the head of the army. This 'we look upon as the moſt neceſſary ſtep 'that can be taken to prevent the diſſolu-'tion of this parliament. Your grace's 'compliance with this our earneſt requeſt 'would be the greateſt obligation to us, and 'all that wiſh well to our country. And 'you may depend upon it, that the con-'trary will be the greateſt ſatisfaction to 'your enemies. We are, my lord, your 'grace's moſt humble and obedient ſer-'vants,

'COWPER. C. 'DEVONSHIRE.
'GODOLPHIN. 'ORFORD.
'SOMERS. 'HALLIFAX.
'NEWCASTLE. 'H. BOYLE.'

The removal of my lord SUNDERLAND, who was ſo nearly allied to the duke of MARLBOROUGH, as it had an immediate effect on the funds and the publick credit at home, ſo it gave an alarm to all the courts concerned in the grand alliance; an event, which brought the QUEEN's private counſellors under a freſh neceſſity of deceiving

her, and engaging her to promiſe what they had determined ſhe ſhould not perform. For not only the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given here, that there was no thought of any other changes, but Mr. ſecretary BOYLE had orders from the QUEEN to write to the foreign courts in her name, and aſſure them, that all their fears were groundleſs, and that ſhe would continue the adminiſtration of her affairs in the hands of her preſent miniſtry, of whoſe abilities ſhe had had ſo long experience. And yet in leſs than two months after this, and even the very day after the QUEEN had expreſſed her deſire to my lord GODOLPHIN himſelf, that he would continue in her ſervice, ſhe diſmiſſed him; and her letter of order to him to break his ſtaff, was ſent by no worthier a meſſenger than a man in livery, to be left with his lordſhip's porter. A proceeding which in all it's parts would remain very unaccountable, if the QUEEN herſelf had not, to thoſe who expoſtulated with her, made this undoubtedly true declaration, *that ſhe was ſorry for it, but could*

not help it. Unhappy neceſſity! that urged her to diſmiſs a miniſter of my lord GODOLPHIN's experienced abilities and integrity, and to put into his place a perſon, whom I indeed ſhould be at a loſs to deſcribe, but of whom a friend of mine, many years ago, drew the following juſt character.

'He was a cunning and a dark man, of 'too ſmall abilities to do much good, but 'of all the qualities requiſite to do miſ-'chief, and to bring on the ruin and de-'ſtruction of a nation. This miſchievous 'darkneſs of his Soul was written in his 'countenance, and plainly legible in a very 'odd look, diſagreeable to every body at 'firſt ſight, which being joined with a con-'ſtant, aukward motion or rather agitation 'of his head and body, betrayed a turbu-'lent diſhoneſty within, even in the midſt 'of all thoſe familiar airs, jocular bowing 'and ſmiling, which he always affected, 'to cover what could not be covered. He 'had long accuſtomed himſelf ſo much to

'dissemble his real intentions, and to use
'the ambiguous and obscure way of speak-
'ing, that he could hardly ever be under-
'stood when he designed it, or be believed,
'when he never so much desired it. His
'natural temper led him to so expensive
'and profuse a way of living, that he had
'brought himself into great necessities,
'though he had long enjoyed the advan-
'tages of very great and profitable posts.
'One principal and very expensive piece
'of his art, in which he seems to have ex-
'celled all that went before him, was, to
'have in pay a great number of spies of
'all sorts, to let him into what was passing
'in all considerable families. It was re-
'markable, that when he came most into
'favour with the QUEEN, he was perhaps
'the only man, in whose ruin the two con-
'tending parties would have united, as one
'in whom there was no foundation to re-
'pose any confidence. And that when he
'came to have the greatest power with
'the QUEEN, he had lost all credit every
'where else.

The

The ſame neceſſity which forced her MAJESTY to diſmiſs my lord GODOLPHIN from her ſervice, rendered her irreconcilable to me, though by means of one perſon at court, who happened to be in good favour with her, I made all poſſible attempts to remove her unjuſt prejudices againſt me. I wrote to him long and plain accounts of what had paſt, juſtifying myſelf, and expoſing the ingratitude as well as malice of my enemies: All which accounts he read to the QUEEN, but without any effect upon her. She ſaid not a word to any of theſe repreſentations, except one, wherein I had ſet forth the faithfulneſs and frugality, with which I had ſerved her in my offices; and had complained of the attempts made by the agents of her new friends to vilify me, all over the nation, as one who had cheated my miſtreſs of vaſt ſums of money. Her MAJESTY, on this occaſion, was pleaſed to ſay, *every body knows, cheating is not the ducheſs of* MARLBOROUGH'S *crime.*

The ſame perſon, to try the QUEEN further, mentioned my coming to court, as what might be proper, on account of ſome *new clothes*, which, as groom of the ſtole, I had by her MAJESTY's order bought for her. But ſhe preſently charged him to adviſe me, as from himſelf, not to come. And when after a very ſucceſsful campaign, the duke of MARLBOROUGH was returned to London, the QUEEN moſt readily accepted the reſignation, which he carried her from me, of my offices. The ducheſs of SOMERSET was made groom of the ſtole, and had the robes; and Mrs. MASHAM had the privy-purſe.

The duke of MARLBOROUGH, notwithſtanding an infinite variety of mortifications, by which it was endeavoured to make him reſign his commiſſion, (that there might be a pretence to raiſe an out-cry againſt him, as having quitted his QUEEN's and his country's ſervice, meerly becauſe he could not govern in the cabinet, as well as in the field) continued to ſerve yet another campaign. All his friends here (moved by

a true

a true concern for the publick welfare) preſſed him to it, the confederates called him with the utmoſt importunity, and prince EUGENE intreated him to come with all the earneſtneſs and paſſion that could be expreſſed. He went; but his authority was now diminiſhed, and his forces weaken'd, many of his beſt regiments being drawn off, ſome to go moulder away in Spain, and others to be ſacrificed in the wild expedition to Quebec. On the other hand the French had regained a ſpirit by the proceedings of their friends here; and they ſeemed to think themſelves ſecure now of bringing diſgrace upon a general, who had ſo often humbled *them*, and whoſe very name had been among them for many years a ſound of terror. His maſterly conduct, and his ſurpriſing ſucceſs, diſappointed the hopes, both of our foreign and domeſtick enemies. The latter ſeem'd to repent that they had permitted him to make this campaign; the happy event of which muſt unavoidably render a peace with France, upon French conditions, the more infamous. Yet a

peace

peace was ſo neceſſary to the preſervation of the new miniſter's power, that it muſt be had at any rate. And in order to it, the confidence of the French KING muſt be gained. This confidence could never be hoped for, ſo long as the duke of MARLBOROUGH was at the head of the army. And therefore, as all the arts of malice and detraction had proved ineffectual to make him reſign his poſt, it was become neceſſary to remove him from it. But what plauſible pretence to remove ſo able and ſo ſucceſsful a general, while the war was, in appearance, ſtill ſubſiſting? A frivolous and groundleſs complaint in parliament about certain perquiſites he had claimed, as belonging to his ſtation, muſt ſerve the turn. The QUEEN, indeed, when he had laid before her what was doing againſt him by the *commiſſioners of accounts*, was pleaſed to ſay, *ſhe was ſure her ſervants* [her new miniſters] *would not encourage ſuch proceedings.* Nevertheleſs, in a very ſhort time, her MAJESTY, once more preſſed by an irreſiſtible neceſſity, made uſe of that very complaint

as

as a reaſon for diſmiſſing him from all his employments.

To the QUEEN's letter, importing this diſmiſſion, the duke returned the following anſwer.

'MADAM,

'I am very ſenſible of the honour your 'MAJESTY does me in diſmiſſing me from 'your ſervice by a letter of your own hand, 'though I find by it that my enemies have 'been able to prevail with your MAJESTY 'to do it in the manner that is moſt injurious to me. And if their malice and inveteracy againſt me had not been more 'powerful with them than the conſideration of your MAJESTY's honour and 'juſtice, they would not have influenced 'you to impute the occaſion of my diſmiſſion to a falſe and malicious inſinuation 'contrived by themſelves, and made public, 'when there was no opportunity for me to 'give in my anſwer; which, they muſt 'needs be conſcious would fully detect the 'falſhood and malice of their aſperſions,

'and

'and not leave them that handle for bring-
'ing your MAJESTY to ſuch extremities
'againſt me.

'But I am much more concerned at an
'expreſſion in your MAJESTY's letter,
'which ſeems to complain of the treat-
'ment you had met with. I know not
'how to underſtand that word, nor what
'conſtruction to make of it. I know I have
'always endeavoured to ſerve your MA-
'JESTY faithfully and *zealouſly*, through
'a great many undeſerved mortifications.
'But if your MAJESTY does intend by that
'expreſſion to find fault with my not com-
'ing to the cabinet-council, I am very free
'to acknowledge that my duty to your
'MAJESTY and country would not give
'me leave to join in the counſel of a man,
'who, in my opinion, puts your MAJESTY
'upon all manner of extremities. And
'it is not my opinion only, but the opinion
'of all mankind, *that the friendſhip of*
'*France muſt needs be deſtructive to your*
'MAJESTY: *there being in that court a*
'*root of enmity irreconcilable to your* MA-

JESTY's

'JESTY's *government, and the religion of*
'theſe kingdoms. I wiſh your MAJESTY
'may never find the want of ſo faithful a
'ſervant, as I have always endeavoured to
'approve myſelf to you. I am with the
'greateſt duty and ſubmiſſion,

'MADAM,

'Your Majeſty's

'moſt dutiful and

'obedient ſubject,

MARLBOROUGH.

§ III.

§ III.

THUS, my lord, I have given you a ſhort hiſtory of my favour with my royal miſtreſs, from it's earlieſt riſe to it's irrecoverable fall. You have ſeen with admiration how *ſincere* and how *great* an affection a *queen* was capable of having for a *ſervant who never flattered her*. And I doubt not but your friendſhip made ſome concluſions to *my* advantage, when you obſerved for how many years I was able to hold my place in her regard, notwithſtanding her moſt real and invariable paſſion for that phantom which ſhe called *the church*: That *darling phantom* which the tories were for ever preſenting to her imagination, and employing as a *will in the whiſp*, to bewilder her mind, and entice her, (as ſhe at laſt unhappily experienced) to the deſtruction of her quiet and her glory. But I believe you have thought that the moſt extraordinary thing in the whole fortune of my favour, was it's being at laſt deſtroyed

by

by a cauſe, in appearance ſo unequal to the effect, I mean Mrs. ABIGAIL HILL. For I will venture to affirm, that whatever may have been laid to my charge of ill behaviour to my miſtreſs in the latter years of my ſervice, is all reducible to this one crime, *my inveteracy to poor* MASHAM. I have indeed ſaid, that my conſtant combating the QUEEN's inclination to the tories did, in the end, prove the ruin of my credit with her; and this is true, in as much as without that, her MAJESTY could never have been engaged to liſten to any inſinuations againſt me. Her paſſion for the church furniſhed the ſole means by which Mrs. MASHAM (the machine in the hands of HARLEY) could take hold of her mind, and bring her by degrees, to look upon that behaviour in me, as rudeneſs and diſreſpect, which before had been only ſincerity and frankneſs, and a warmth of zeal for her ſervice. And yet (as you have ſeen) in that very letter where her MAJESTY tells me, *I have loſt her kindneſs irrecoverably*, ſhe declares, *that this change is not owing to any fault I have committed.*

mitted. But though the QUEEN, in her higheſt diſcontent with me, and after I had been in her ſervice ſeven and twenty years, had no crime to lay to my charge, except *my malice to poor* MASHAM, yet the ready invention of others, who knew nothing of my conduct, but whoſe intereſt it was to decry me, could preſently find in it abundant matter for accuſation.

The calumnies againſt me were ſo groſs, and yet ſo greedily devoured by the credulity of party rage, that I thought it became me to write and publiſh ſomething in my own juſtification; and the ſubſtance of what I am now going to ſay, was contained in a ſort of memorial, which for that purpoſe I drew up in 1712. I have already mentioned by what means I was then diſſuaded from making it publick, and the reaſons that now induce me to purſue that deſign.

It was ſpread about in libels, that I had behaved myſelf unworthily in my offices, and been unfaithful to the truſts repoſed in me.

That

That I had abuſed my favour with the QUEEN, by obtaining unreaſonable and exorbitant grants to myſelf.

And that, through an inſatiable greedineſs of riches, I had proſtituted to ſale titles of honour and places of truſt.

As to my conduct, with reſpect to the *robes*, this one obſervation is almoſt ſufficient, that all my accounts of the robes, for the whole nine years in which I ſerved the QUEEN in that office, were paſſed in the *exchequer* with the greateſt regularity; and that, in paſſing them, I produced acquittances for every ſum to the value of twenty ſhillings paid to any tradeſman; which was ſuch a method of exactneſs as had never before been uſed by any maſter or miſtreſs of the robes.

Upon my bringing in the firſt accounts of this ſort, in order to have them paſſed, it was ſaid, in a report made to the treaſury from auditor HARLEY's office, that no ſuch accounts had ever been brought there before. Mr. TAYLOR, in the treaſury, and all the clerks of that board, made the like

obſervation. But what is moſt worthy to be remembered, Mr. HARLEY, the ſame Mr. HARLEY, who was afterwards lord treaſurer, and who then hired his creatures to miſrepreſent me, throughout all the nation, as no better than a pickpocket, the ſame Mr. HARLEY, I ſay, upon occaſion of his brother's having made an extract from the accounts, which in former reigns had been given in, of the yearly expences of the robes, wrote me the following letter.

Thurſday Auguſt 8, 1706.

'MADAM,

'I miſſed the opportunity of paying 'my duty to your grace laſt time at 'Windſor, which occaſions you the trou- 'ble of this letter. My brother, having 'made a ſtate of your grace's accounts, 'deſired that I would receive your pleaſure, 'when you would permit him to wait up- 'on your grace with it. *I perceive your* '*grace's conduct will ſhine on all occaſions*; 'for my brother tells me, that he has

‘ made a collection from all the accounts
‘ which have been brought in for the
‘ robes for 46 years, ſince the year
‘ 1660, and by that it will appear, upon
‘ the compariſon, how much better (to a
‘ great value) your grace has managed
‘ for the crown. He will have the ho-
‘ nour to preſent this to your grace when-
‘ ever you pleaſe to appoint a time to
‘ receive it, *&c.* *

A copy of the collection here mentioned, is added at the end of this relation, and whoever will be at the pains to compare the four laſt years in thoſe accounts (when I had the management of the robes) with the preceding years in the ſame accounts, will find, that the yearly expence of the robes in all the reigns before queen ANNE, is, one year with another, above 5040 *l.* whereas the expence of the four firſt years of her reign one with another, is not 2900 *l.*

* The remainder of this letter is in the former part of this relation. Page 237.

But becauſe there is a great deal of difference between the expences for the robes of a queen, and the expences for thoſe of a king, it will be more equitable to compare my accounts for the robes of queen ANNE, with thoſe for queen MARY's robes, when under the management of lady DERBY, of which, for two years, I procured a copy from the office.

It appears that in the *firſt* of thoſe two years, the expence of queen MARY's robes was greater by a thouſand pound, than that of queen ANNE's for *the whole four years* mentioned in auditor HARLEY's collection. For the expence of thoſe *four years* was no more than 11,565 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* whereas the expence of the *firſt year only* of queen MARY was 12,604 *l.* 12 *s.* 2 *d.* It appears alſo that the expence of the robes, in the *ſecond* year of queen MARY, was 11,131 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* which is not many hundred pounds ſhort of the whole expence of the ſaid *four years* of queen ANNE.

After theſe four years, the expence of the following five years (which make up

the whole time of my ſervice) amounting to 18,972 *l.* 9 *s.* 10 *d.* was more in proportion than that of the ſaid four preceding years. This was chiefly occaſioned by the extraordinary expence on account of the mourning for the PRINCE, and the QUEEN's ordering every thing belonging to the robes of what kind ſoever to be given away, ſo that at the end of the mourning all were new at once, and amongſt them ſome very rich clothes, which happened juſt before I left the office. Theſe two articles neceſſarily made a conſiderable increaſe of the ordinary expence, eſpecially as the QUEEN gave 600 *l.* to the maids of honour to buy them mourning. However, the yearly expence of my *nine years*, taken one with another, is very ſmall in compariſon of the *two years* before-mentioned, when *lady* DERBY managed *queen* MARY's *robes*. For the ſum total paid by the *exchequer* on account of the robes in my nine years, amounts only to 32,050 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* as will appear to any one who will take the trouble to look into the *exchequer*

 rolls,

rolls, and if I paid more it muſt have been out of my own pocket, an indiſcretion of which no body has ſuſpected me. If from this ſum of 32,050 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* be deducted, the coronation expence, which was 1512 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* there will remain 30,537 *l.* 16 *s.* 11 *d.* and then the yearly expence of the ſaid nine years, one with another, will be 3393 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* ¼. But it is to be obſerved that in this ſum are *included the* ſalaries, and many other things relating to the robes; amounting to about 1400 *l.* a year, which I always put into my account, (becauſe I thought it the faireſt way) but which before my time were put into a ſeparate account, that the account of the robes might appear the leſs. If therefore you ſubſtract this 1400 *l.* from the above ſum of 3393 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* ¼, the remainder (the yearly expence of queen ANNE's robes in my nine years) is only 1993 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* ¼, which is leſs than the yearly expence of queen MARY's robes, (according to lady DERBY's accounts hereto annexed) by the yearly ſum of 9874 *l.*

18 *s.* 10 *d.* ¼. So that it evidently appears that by my oeconomy in the nine years I ſerved her MAJESTY, I ſaved her near 90,000 *l.* For I believe it will be granted, that without incurring any cenſure, I might have fwelled the accounts for queen ANNE's robes, to as large a ſum as lady DERBY did for queen MARY's.

But to ſhew how much people were determined to defame me at any rate, and at all adventures, I had the fortune, that while ſome accuſed me of being *too profuſe* of the QUEEN's money, others cenſured me as being *too ſaving* of it, and too hard upon the tradeſmen I dealt with. It will not be amiſs therefore to give ſome account of this matter, and of the methods I uſed to reduce the expences of the robes to ſo ſmall a ſum.

It is very well known, that in the preceding reigns, the tradeſmen gave money to ſerve the crown, which brought in great ſums to the maſters of the robes, but at the ſame time obliged the tradeſmen to charge extravagant prices for their

goods, a privilege which could hardly be diſputed with them, conſidering the ſums they had given for the cuſtom, and the accidents they were then always expoſed to by the death of the PRINCE, or the death or removal of the maſter of the robes. But the tradeſmen whom I made uſe of had nothing of this to plead; they gave no money to ſerve the crown, nor were put to any expence, not ſo much as the cuſtomary one of poundage; they were paid regularly, ran no manner of hazard and had no more trouble in ſerving the QUEEN than in ſerving a common cuſtomer, and therefore I did not think it reaſonable that they ſhould be allowed above a ſhilling or two in the pound extraordinary for their goods. But thoſe who had the honour to *ſee* the QUEEN, and to make her clothes, were allowed more than the double of what they had from the firſt quality. And this was all I thought myſelf at liberty to do in an office in which I was entirely truſted.

My method to prevent all miſtakes or abuſes, was always to ſign the tradeſmens

bills

bills at the ſame time that they delivered their goods. They were paid by Mrs. THOMAS, a perſon of whoſe honeſty I had had long experience, and to whom I had given the employment of chief of the robes, making it worth to her between two and three hundred pounds a year, not by a ſalary, but by old clothes and other little advantages; and I had a promiſe from her, never to take money of any of the tradeſmen. It is very certain that ſhe was punctual to this promiſe, and if any of the * tradeſmen themſelves are ſtill living, they will I am ſure bear witneſs to it.

I come now to my management of the privy-purſe, the yearly allowance for which was 20,000 *l.* not half the ſum allowed in king WILLIAM's time, and indeed very little, conſidering how great a charge there was fixed upon it by cuſtom, the QUEEN's

* The principal of them were Mr. VERNON, Mr. INCHLY, Mr. SANDS upon Ludgate-hill, and Mr. ALEXANDER in Covent-garden, all mercers. Mrs. DEVET, Mrs. TOMBES and Mr. BAGSHAW, who kept Indian ſhops, and Mr. ELIOT (ſince ſucceeded by his nephew) a lace-man in the Strand.

bounties,

bounties, play money, healing gold, and charities, beſides the many penſions that were paid out of it. The allowance was augmented to 26,000 *l.* two years before I left the office. But in thoſe two years Mrs. MASHAM was become the great diſpenſer of the QUEEN's money, I only bringing to her MAJESTY the ſums that were called for.

The privy-purſe is not ſubject to any account by law, notwithſtanding which I obſerved the ſame method with regard to this as with regard to the robes, taking acquittances from all perſons to whom I paid any money, and *from the* QUEEN *herſelf for all ſums paid into her own hands*, as likewiſe a diſcharge from her MAJESTY upon every account given in, which diſcharge was in theſe words.

I have examined theſe accounts, and am ſatisfied they are right.

ANNE R.

The money of the privy-purſe was paid upon my notes, by Mr. COGGS a goldſmith

ſmith over-againſt St. Clement's church, whom I ſtrictly charged never to take any poundage, which uſed conſtantly to be taken before my time. But I thought it would be as mean as it was inhuman, to deduct from charities, and make advantage of the indigence of others, and therefore I broke that cuſtom. Let any one then judge from the whole, whether I did not put this office into ſuch a method, as rendered it impoſſible for me to cheat the QUEEN, even ſuppoſing I could at any time have been baſe enough to deſire it.

The SECOND charge againſt me is, that of abuſing my favour with the QUEEN, by obtaining unreaſonable and exorbitant grants to myſelf.

I have never been diſpoſed to deny any of the QUEEN's favours to me; I have always remembered them with gratitude, and freely ſpoke of them as there was occaſion; and I ſhall here give a particular account of all the grants and bounties I ever had from her.

I have

I have in the former part of this relation, taken notice of my being appointed one of the ladies of her bed-chamber, at her own requeſt, upon her marriage with the PRINCE of Denmark. The ſalary of this place was 200 *l.* a year.

I have mentioned alſo that her ROYAL HIGHNESS, upon the counteſs of CLARENDON's leaving her to go to Ireland, advanced me to be firſt lady of the bed-chamber; by which promotion I came to have a yearly ſalary of 400 *l.*

I have further related, that the PRINCESS ſoon after her obtaining a ſettlement by parliament of 50,000 *l.* a year, believing, that ſhe owed the eaſe and independency of her condition to the zeal, induſtry, and diligence of my lord MARLBOROUGH and myſelf upon that occaſion, was pleaſed to grant me, of her own motion, an annual penſion of 1000 *l.* And I cannot here entirely paſs over the intention, which her ROYAL HIGHNESS had of giving us another mark of her favour, when my lord MARLBOROUGH fell into diſgrace with king WILLIAM. She

would

would have made a new office for him in her court, like that which lord BERKELEY had in her father's. But as ſoon as I was apprized of this deſign, I diſſuaded her from it; becauſe I thought it not reaſonable on her own account; and beſides, as I lived in friendſhip with Sir BENJAMIN BATHURST, who would have been hurt by the creation of ſuch an office, I thought this a ſufficient reaſon for declining the offer.

A little before the PRINCESS came to the crown, my eldeſt daughter was to be married to lord GODOLPHIN's ſon, on which occaſion her HIGHNESS wrote to me in theſe terms.

'I have a requeſt to make to my dear 'Mrs. FREEMAN. It is, that whenever dear 'lady HARIOTTE marries, you would give 'me leave to give her ſomething to keep 'me in her thoughts — *and concluded thus,* '— I beg my poor mite may be accepted, 'being offered from a heart that is with-'out any reſerve with more paſſion and 'ſincerity my dear Mrs. FREEMAN's, than 'any other can be capable of. The

The mite which the PRINCESS here ſpeaks of was 10,000 *l.* the whole portion that was to be paid on my daughter's marriage. It had always been the cuſtom for the crown to give portions to the daughters of their favourites, but the PRINCESS having but 50,000 *l.* a year, I thought the offer too large for her income, and would therefore accept no more than the half of it.

The like ſum of 5000 *l.* the PRINCESS gave to my ſecond daughter when ſhe was married to lord SUNDERLAND, adding a promiſe at the ſame time to take care of all my children.

I fancy, my lord, if you conſider only the almoſt unparallel'd affection the QUEEN had for me, you will be little ſurprized, either at theſe expreſſions of it, or thoſe which I am going to relate. And you will certainly be much leſs ſo, if you can believe the QUEEN herſelf in a matter, where perhaps it would not become me to expatiate, I mean the proofs I had given her of my affectionate fidelity in her ſervice, and inviolable attachment to her intereſts and happineſs.

neſs. It would be as endleſs as it is needleſs to tranſcribe all the letters I have from her to this purpoſe. A few extracts from ſome of them will be ſufficient.

On occaſion of ſomething done for the PRINCE in king WILLIAM's time, ſhe wrote to me in theſe terms.

'I was going to thank your lord myſelf 'for what was done laſt night concerning 'the PRINCE's buſineſs, it being wholly 'owing to your and his kindneſs, or elſe I 'am ſure it would never have been brought 'to any effect. But I durſt not do it for 'fear of not being able to expreſs the true 'ſenſe of my poor heart, and therefore I 'muſt deſire my dear Mrs. FREEMAN to 'ſay a great deal both for Mr. MORLEY 'and myſelf: and though we are poor in 'words, yet be ſo juſt as to believe we are 'truly ſenſible, and moſt faithfully yours. 'And as for your faithful MORLEY, be aſ-'ſured ſhe is more, if it be poſſible, than 'ever, her dear dear Mrs. FREEMAN's.'

In

Inanother, after complaining to me of being ill ſerved (as indeed ſhe was to a very great degree) ſhe adds,——

'Though it will be impoſſible for me 'to have every thing done to my mind, un- 'leſs I could meet with a Mrs. FREEMAN 'in every poſt of my family; but her fel- 'low I do really believe is not to be found 'the world over, and I am ſure I never 'can have any friend that will be ſo dear 'to me as ſhe is.'

In another —— (I forget upon what occaſion) —' I give you millions of thanks 'for all your and Mr. FREEMAN's kindneſs, 'which I am more truly ſenſible of than I 'can expreſs, and ſhall never be ſatisfied 'with any thing I can either do or ſay in 'return; for where one owes ſo much, one 'can never get out of debt: but whilſt 'I have life, I will endeavour to ſhew my 'dear Mrs. FREEMAN, I have a grateful 'heart that is moſt paſſionately and faith- 'fully at her command.'

When

When her ROYAL HIGHNESS was pleaſed to give the 5000 *l.* I have mentioned on my eldeſt daughter's marriage, I wrote her a letter full of gratitude and reſpect. At that time I kept no copies of my letters, having no ſuſpicion that I ſhould ever have occaſion for ſuch vouchers, however the PRINCESS's anſwer will ſhow the tenour of what I wrote, as well as her HIGHNESS's ſentiments in my regard.

'My dear Mrs. FREEMAN has no reaſon to be uneaſy with the thoughts that ſhe can never do enough to deſerve my kindneſs, for ſhe has done more than ever any mortal did to merit another's friendſhip. And it is very kind in ſetting ſo great a value upon ſo poor an expreſſion as I have made of my truth, which *upon my word I am not ſatisfied with, it coming far ſhort of what my heart is inclined to do.* But as long as I live, I muſt be endeavouring to ſhew, that never any body had a ſincerer paſſion for another, than I have for dear Mrs. FREEMAN.'

All theſe favours I received from the PRINCESS before ſhe came to the crown, ſoon after which, I had the following letter from her, which as it ſhews the continuance of her ſincere affection for me, will at the ſame time ſerve for a voucher *that I did not accept the whole* that was offered for a portion to my eldeſt daughter.

Friday morning.

'My lord BRIDGEWATER being in haſte
'to be married, I cannot any longer defer
'telling my dear Mrs. FREEMAN, what I
'have intended a great while, that I hope
'ſhe will now give me leave to do what I
'had a mind to when dear lady HARIOTTE
'was married, and let me ſpeak to my lord
'treaſurer about it when I ſee him, &c.'

This letter was a kind proof that the QUEEN had not forgot her promiſe of providing for all my children, which ſhe afterwards fully performed by giving the like portion to my fourth daughter.

I ſhall

I ſhall now mention all the grants made to myſelf during the whole time that I ſerved her MAJESTY.

The firſt was the office of ranger of the great and little parks at Windſor. This I eſteem'd as a great favour, becauſe the lodge in the great park (the ſame that Mr. MAY enjoy'd many years, and after him the earl of PORTLAND) is a very agreeable place to live in; and becauſe her MAJESTY was pleaſed to give it me of her own accord, remembring that when we uſed in former days to ride by it, I had often wiſh'd for ſuch a place. The lodge in the little park at that time was no better than ſuch as the underkeepers live in, and I gave it to a brother of the duke of MARLBOROUGH's, who was ſo well pleaſed with the ſituation, as to lay out five or ſix thouſand pounds upon it; of which the crown will have the advantage after one life, as alſo of between four and five thouſand pounds that I laid out upon the lodge in the great park.

This grant uſed to be repreſented to the publick as worth 4009 *l.* a year: but all the

keepers, and many of the inhabitants of Windſor know, that I never made any advantage of it worth mentioning, unleſs the milk of a few cows and a little firing when I was there may be reckoned ſuch. And how indeed can it be imagined, that any other profits could ariſe from it (without taking away the very allowances of the keepers) when it is remembered, that to anſwer the crown warrants, it is neceſſary to keep up four or five thouſand head of deer in the park, for which the allowance was but 500 *l.* a year (which however was taken from me ſome years ago) and that the ranger muſt be at the expence of making, and ſometimes of buying hay for the deer; that the keepers wages were payable out of this allowance, with ſeveral other expences which in parks belonging to the crown are much greater than in others? So that the thing had plainly very little to recommend it, beſides the pleaſantneſs of the habitation.

The next grant, of which by my lord GODOLPHIN's means I obtained the promiſe from the QUEEN, after the QUEEN dowager's death,

death, was the ground in St. James's-Park upon which my houſe ſtands. This has been valued by my enemies at 10,000*l.* how juſtly let any one determine, who will conſider that a certain rent is paid for it to the Exchequer, that the grant was at firſt but for fifty years, and that the building has coſt between forty and fifty thouſand pounds, of which the QUEEN never paid one ſhilling, though many people have been made to believe otherwiſe.

Theſe were the only grants I ever had from the QUEEN except one, which occaſioned the witty compariſon that was made between me and the lady's woman, who out of her miſtreſs's pin-money of 26 *l.* put twenty two into her own pocket. The matter was this. At the QUEEN's acceſſion to the government, ſhe uſed to lament to me, that the crown being impoveriſhed by former grants, ſhe wanted the power her predeceſſors had enjoyed to reward faithful ſervants; and ſhe deſired me to take out of the privy-purſe 2000 *l.* a year, in order to ſome purchaſe for my advantage. I made

my grateful acknowledgments to her MAJESTY, but at the ſame time ſaid, that as her MAJESTY was ſo good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoy'd by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reaſonable to accept her offer; and I abſolutely refuſed it. The QUEEN ſome time after, in two ſeveral letters, preſſed me to receive this bounty, and ſhe frequently did the ſame by word of mouth. Nevertheleſs I conſtantly declin'd it; until the time, that, notwithſtanding the uncommon regard I had ſhown to her MAJESTY's intereſt and honour in the execution of my truſts, ſhe was pleaſed to diſmiſs me from her ſervice. Then indeed it was thought I had no longer the ſame reaſon to be ſcrupulous on this head. By the advice of my friends, I ſent the QUEEN one of her own letters, in which ſhe had preſſed me to take the 2000 *l.* a year; and I wrote at the ſame time to aſk her MAJESTY whether ſhe would allow me to charge in the privy-purſe accounts, which I was to ſend her, that yearly ſum from the time

of

of the offer, amounting to 18,000 *l.* Her MAJESTY was pleaſed to anſwer, that I might charge it. This therefore I did, *inſerting in my accounts* (which were a kind of *memorial)* theſe words:

'After the PRINCESS came to the crown, 'ſhe was pleaſed to write to me to take '2000 *l.* a year out of the privy-purſe, 'and *to make no more words of it*, and lay 'it up to do ſomething with it; becauſe, 'ſhe added, ſhe had not power to do as 'others had done before her, to reward 'faithful ſervices. And I might own or 'conceal it as I liked beſt; for ſhe did not 'care who knew what ſhe gave to one ſhe 'could never reward enough.'

Her MAJESTY after keeping my accounts a ſufficient time to have them carefully examined, (I ſuppoſe by Mr. HARLEY) return'd them to me ſign'd in this manner.

Feb. 1, $17\frac{10}{11}$.

' I have examined theſe Accounts, and
' allow of them,

ANNE R.

If ſome perſons may be inclined to cenſure my conduct in this particular as too intereſted, yet every body muſt, I think, be candid enough to own, that it ſhewed a conſciouſneſs of my integrity in the diſcharge of my truſts, and that I feared no accuſation upon that Head, even from malice in power. Nay I will venture to ſay, that impartial judges will not think this part of my behaviour liable to any criticiſm, when they remember and conſider, that by my unprecedented fidelity and oeconomy in the diſcharge of my offices, I ſaved to her MAJESTY not only more than the ſum in queſtion, but more than the whole value of all the gratuities I ever had from her. For beſides the bounties I have already mentioned, the QUEEN after her coming to the crown, never made me the preſent of a diamond,

mond, or of any thing worth taking notice of, during the whole time that I was in her favour.

As to my offices under the QUEEN they were indeed conſiderable, and I have ever acknowledged them to be ſo, amounting to 5600 *l.* a year, deducting only for taxes and fees. But it is to be remembered, that they were only the ſame employments that I had executed when ſhe was PRINCESS at the ſalary of 400 *l.* a year; and it was therefore nothing extraordinary that ſhe ſhould continue me in them when ſhe came to be QUEEN. And in what manner I diſcharged theſe offices, I have already related.

I come now to the THIRD article of accuſation againſt me, *That I proſtituted to ſale titles of honour and places of truſt.*

As for *titles of honour*, I never was concerned in making any peer but one, and that was my lord HERVEY the preſent earl of BRISTOL. I had made a promiſe to Sir THOMAS FELTON, when the QUEEN came firſt to the crown, that if her MAJESTY ſhould ever make any new lords, I would

certainly

certainly uſe my intereſt that Mr. HERVEY might be one. And accordingly, though I was retired into the country under the moſt ſenſible affliction for the death of my only ſon, yet when the QUEEN had reſolved to create four peers, GRANVILLE, GUERNSEY, GOWER and CONWAY, I had ſuch a regard to my word, that I wrote to lord MARLBOROUGH and lord GODOLPHIN, that if they did not endeavour to get Mr. HERVEY made a peer, I neither would nor could ſhew my face any more. The thing was done purely at my requeſt, and at a time when affairs at court ran ſo violently againſt the whole party of whigs, that Mr. HERVEY had laid aſide all hopes of the peerage, and was therefore ſurprized to the laſt degree, when a meſſage came to him from the duke of MARLBOROUGH, that he muſt come on ſuch a day by the back-ſtairs, to kiſs the QUEEN's hand for being made a peer. On this occaſion my lady HERVEY wrote to me in the following terms.

March

‘ March 14, 1702.

‘ MADAM,

‘ Mr. HERVEY and myſelf have both ſo
‘ long and juſtly ſacrificed the ſatisfaction of
‘ our own, to the eaſe and quiet of your
‘ grace's mind, that could you know what
‘ inceſſant importunities we have reſiſted
‘ from the one, you would the eaſilier for-
‘ give the unſeaſonable interruptions we fear
‘ this muſt at laſt prove to the other; but
‘ the ſenſe of our obligations to your grace
‘ calls too clamorouſly upon us to be any
‘ farther withſtood, and therefore we rather
‘ venture this intruſion upon your ſolitude,
‘ than to be longer ſilent upon a ſubject,
‘ which requires the earlieſt endeavours af-
‘ ter all returns that can be made your
‘ grace by us for it. I know nothing we
‘ have ſo much at heart (unleſs it be the
‘ due ſympathy we feel of your grace's
‘ preſent condition) as how we may in ſome
‘ ſort deſerve the great honour her MAJES-
‘ TY has been ſo graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow
‘ on us and our family, by your grace's

‘ kind

'kind mediation, and how we may ever
'acquit ourſelves of ſo generous a piece of
'friendſhip towards your grace, which I am
'very ſure we both think the future ſtudy
'of our lives can never enough compenſate,
'unleſs your grace's uſual goodneſs will ac-
'cept of the moſt zealous and grateful
'wills for payment, and then we conclude
'the chief of thoſe very many, whom you
'have bound to be your grace's well wiſhers
'muſt remain, as much if not more in-
'debted to you than I know Mr. HERVEY
'(ſo qualified) to be as well as,

'MADAM,

'*Your grace's moſt obliged,*

'*and faithful humble ſervant,*

'E. HERVEY.'

This letter would alone be a ſufficient proof, that the ſervice I then did was not the purchaſe of money; but my lord BRISTOL is ſtill living, who will vouch for the truth of this account.

Certain

Certain it is, that I might have made conſiderable profit by this ſort of traffic, could I have thought it conſiſtent with juſtice and honour. I was offered 6000 *l.* to get Mr. COKE of Norfolk made a peer. And how eaſy and inoffenſive a thing would this have been at that time? For he was a gentleman of an eſtate equal to the title deſired, and was grandſon to the duke of LEEDS, and in that intereſt which then carried all before it at court. The anſwer I gave to the propoſal was to this effect:

That I thought her MAJESTY, the fountain of honour, ſhould never beſtow it but upon true merit, and as an encouragement to ſuch perſons as were conſiderable enough to be uſeful to their PRINCE; and that the granting the peerage upon ſuch generous conditions, was the moſt likely way to *oblige* thoſe ſhe honoured with it, and ſtrongly engage them to her ſervice; to which they would look upon themſelves as but little bound on account of their titles, if theſe were the purchaſe of their own money.

And

And as I was never carried by avarice to concern myſelf in procuring titles of honour for others, ſo I ſhall take occaſion to obſerve here, that ambition had no ſhare in procuring that new title, which, by her MAJESTY's favour to my lord MARLBOROUGH, I myſelf acquired. The following letters will be ſome proof of it. The firſt is from my lord GODOLPHIN.

Thurſday night, *Oct.* 22.

——'By the encloſed addreſs from the 'houſe of lords, which is to be preſented 'to the QUEEN to-morrow, you will ſee 'they take notice very thankfully of the be- 'nefits they receive from her MAJESTY's 'protection, and mention her good ſucceſſes 'with better grace for her, in my opinion, 'than if ſhe had done it herſelf.

'I ſhall ſend a copy of this addreſs to- 'morrow by the poſt to my lord MARL- 'BOROUGH, becauſe I believe it will be a 'ſatisfaction to him. I am apt to think 'Mrs. MORLEY may ſay ſomething to you 'upon this ſubject, which perhaps you may

'not

'not like, but I think it muſt be endured
'upon ſuch an occaſion, when it is viſible
'to all the world, that it is not done upon
'your own account.'——

My lord had rightly conjectured; for I received a letter of the ſame date with his, from the QUEEN, upon the ſame ſubject.

St. James's, thurſday 22 October.

'I have had this evening the ſatisfaction
'of my dear Mrs. FREEMAN's of yeſterday,
'for which I give you many thanks, and
'though I think it a long time ſince I ſaw
'you, I do not deſire you to come one
'minute ſooner to town than it is eaſy to
'you, but will wait with patience for the
'happy hour, and only beg when you do
'come you would ſend for a coach, and
'not make uſe of a chaiſe. Lord treaſurer
'intends to ſend you a copy of the addreſs
'from the houſe of lords, which is to be
'given me to-morrow, and that gives me
'an opportunity of mentioning a thing to
'you, that I did not intend to do yet. It

'is very uneasy to your poor, unfortunate,
'faithful MORLEY to think she has so very
'little in her power to show how truly sen-
'sible I am of all my lord MARLBOROUGH's
'kindness, especially at a time when he de-
'serves all that a rich crown could give.
'But since there is nothing else at this time,
'I hope you will give me leave, as soon as
'he comes, to make him a duke. I know
'my dear Mrs. FREEMAN does not care
'for any thing of that kind, nor I am not
'satisfied with it, because it does not e-
'nough express the value I have for Mr.
'FREEMAN, nor nothing ever can how
'passionately I am yours, my dear Mrs.
'FREEMAN.'

The other letter from my lord GODOLPHIN, as far as it relates to this affair, is in these terms.

Saturday night.

'I give you many thanks for the favour
'of your letter, which I received this even-
'ing. I did easily believe Mrs. MORLEY's
'letter would make you uneasy, but having

'her

‘ her commands not to ſpeak of it, I durſt
‘ not ſay any more, than juſt to prepare you
‘ to ſubmit to what I found by her ſhe
‘ was convinced was neceſſary for the ſatis-
‘ faction of the publick. I have waited up-
‘ on her this evening to let her ſee how
‘ truly uneaſy you were, and have begged
‘ of her, when ſhe ſees you, not to part till
‘ ſhe has made you eaſy again, either by
‘ your ſubmitting to pleaſe her, or by her
‘ condeſcending to cure your apprehenſions.’

As theſe letters from my lord GODOLPHIN were written at a time when there could not be even the remoteſt view of making them publick, they ſhew that in his opinion, at leaſt, I was not ambitious of a higher title, which indeed I conſidered as what would ſerve only to provoke malice, without giving me the leaſt degree of pleaſure.

AS to *ſelling Places*, which was the laſt thing I was to clear myſelf from, I ſhall now give an account of my conduct with reſpect to this charge, from the time that I came firſt into any office at court.

A little before I ſucceeded lady CLARENDON in the poſt of firſt lady of the bedchamber to the PRINCESS of Denmark, her HIGHNESS wrote to me, that ſhe intended to take two new pages of the back-ſtairs, but that ſhe would not do it till my lady CLARENDON was gone, that I might have the advantage of putting them in, meaning, that I might have the advantage of ſelling thoſe two places. For it muſt be remark'd, that at that time no perſon who was in any office at court, with places in his diſpoſal, made any more ſcruple of ſelling them, than of receiving his ſettled ſalary, or the rents of his eſtate. It is no great wonder therefore, that being a young courtier, and not very rich, and having ſuch an expreſs direction from my miſtreſs, I followed the prevailing cuſtom, and ſold thoſe two places. Yet it was not long before I began to condemn in my own mind this practice. There was ſomething I thought that felt wrong in the ſelling of employments, and from this thought I came preſently

ſently to a reſolution, never more to make any advantage to myſelf by ſuch means. And when, ſome time after, the PRINCESS thought proper to part with her Roman catholick ſervants, three in number, of whom two were pages of the back-ſtairs, and of which two one had bought his place of me at the time before mentioned, and paid 400 *l.* for it, I gave him back the whole ſum; and I gave the like ſum to the other Roman catholick page, though he had riſen to this employment from being foot-man, and without money. Nay, I procured for this man, (whoſe name was GUYN) the continuation of his ſalary for life, which I mention, only that I may ſpeak of his un-common gratitude: For during five and twenty years afterwards, I did not ſet out upon a journey from London, without find-ing him at my coach ſide full of his good wiſhes for my health and happineſs.

The firſt vacancy that happen'd under the PRINCE (whoſe confidence in me was equal to that of the PRINCESS) was of the

place of groom of the bedchamber. This I procur'd for Mr. MAUL, who knowing what was uſual in ſuch caſes, ſent a meſſage to me, deſiring leave to make me a preſent, to which I immediately return'd anſwer, that I was reſolved againſt every thing of that kind.

Another place that became vacant under the PRINCE was that of groom of the ſtole, which being given to my lord DELAWAR, he brought a preſent of 500 *l.* to Mr. GUIDOT, for me; but Mr. GUIDOT, who knew my diſlike of ſuch Practices, quickly ſatisfied him that I would not accept of it. I had afterwards many letters from his lordſhip, and ſome but a little before my leaving the court, full of the greateſt acknowledgments; and to him I always appeal'd for the truth of this fact.

I alſo refuſed a preſent from my lord LEXINGTON, who employ'd Mr. SCARBOROUGH, to make me the offer, when his lordſhip was deſirous to be maſter of the horſe to the PRINCE.

When

When the QUEEN came to the crown, I had every day much greater opportunities than before, of making advantage of her favour, but I invariably adhered to the reſolution I had taken: And I doubt not but every candid perſon will be perfectly convinced of this, when I have finiſhed what I have to ſay upon the ſubject.

Had I been diſpoſed to heap up money by the ſale of employments, I ſhould certainly not have neglected to ſell thoſe, which by virtue of my offices were in my own diſpoſal. I might have done it with the greateſt eaſe; and cuſtom had given me a ſort of right to do it: But I could never think of ſelling my own favour, any more than that of my royal miſtreſs.

The firſt places, which I had to diſpoſe of, were thoſe of the three pages of the back-ſtairs; places ſo conſiderable, that ſeveral grooms of the ſtole were credibly ſaid to have ſold them for a thouſand guineas each. But theſe I gave freely to Mr. KIRK, Mr. SAXTON, and Mr. SMITH, and purely

at

at the requeſt of three ladies, the lady CHARLOTTE BEVERWAERT, the lady FITZHARDING, and the counteſs of PLYMOUTH.

The other places in my diſpoſal were in the office of the robes — waiters, coffer-bearers, groom of the wardrobe, chief of the robes, ſtarcher, ſempſtreſs.

Were the perſons I have named above, and thoſe to whom I gave theſe laſt mentioned employments, all, or moſt *of* them now living, as they were in 1712, when this account was firſt drawn up; their teſtimony (to which I had there appeal'd) would have amounted to a *poſitive* proof of my integrity and diſintereſtedneſs on theſe occaſions. But as this kind of *proof* cannot now be had, ſo neither is it wanted, there being ſtill a *negative one*, which, I am perſuaded, muſt appear no leſs ſtrong and irreſiſtible. And it is this.

My enemies at a time, when they had all power in their hands, when they had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of virulence and ma-

lice as would make any thing to my prejudice readily believed, when they both could and would have amply rewarded any perſon, that was capable of proving the baſe practices they charged me with, even *then* I ſay, all their accuſations were general; they were never able to fix upon me any one particular action, either unjuſt, mercenary, or even ungenerous in the uſe I made of my royal miſtreſs's favour, or in the management of my own great offices. Nay, they never pretended to name or to appeal to any one perſon for a proof of what they laid to my charge.

But, my lord, all I have hitherto ſaid on this article of accuſation, is to ſatisfy thoſe, who are not acquainted with me. Thoſe who are, will, I am perſuaded, believe me, upon my *word*, when I affirm, as I here ſolemnly do, that (excepting the pages money above-mention'd) *I never received the value of one ſhilling in money or jewels, or in any other form, either directly or indirectly, by myſelf, or by any other perſon, for procuring*

procuring any place or preferment, or any title of honour, or any employment in my own disposal, or, in a word, for doing any favour during my whole life.

I am,

20 *Jan.*
174½.

MY LORD, *&c.*

An ACCOUNT of the State of the Diſburſements and Allowances in the Office of the Robes, within the Times hereafter mentioned.

Collected by Mr. Auditor *Harley*.

Maſters of the Robes.	From	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Earl of *Ogle*.	*May* the 29th 1660, to *March* 25th 1662	16831	10	1
L. *Hyde*, Eſq; L.E.of *Rocheſter*.	*March* 25 1662, to *March* 25 1663	6781	15	6
L.E.of *Rocheſter*.	*March* 25 1663, to *March* 24 1664	6968	4	10
	March 25 1664, to *March* 24 1665	6982	16	8
	March 25 1665, to *March* 24 1666	6085	1	0
	March 25 1666, to *Sept.* 29 1668	5158	10	3
	Sept. 29 1668, to *Sept.* 29 1669	5480	16	2
	Sept. 29 1669, to *Sept.* 29 1670	4518	7	11
	Sept. 29 1670, to *Michaelmas* 1671	6723	3	0
	Michael. 1671, to *Michael.* 1672	5861	6	11
	Michael. 1672, to *Michael.* 1673	5617	14	4
	Michael. 1673, to *Michael.* 1674	5407	13	3 ½
	Michael. 1674, to *Michael.* 1675	4283	8	11
	Michael. 1675, to *Michael.* 1676	4572	16	8 ½
	Michael. 1676, to *Michael.* 1677	5427	3	3 ½
	Michael. 1677, to *Lady-day* 1678	2508	1	6
H. Sydney, Eſq;	*Lady-day* 1678, to *Lady-day* 1680	3832	1	7 ½
	Lady-day 1680, to *Lady-day* 1681	4305	19	6 ½
	Lady-day 1681, to *Lady-day* 1682	8028	17	8 ¼
E. of *Rochefort*.	*Feb.* the 13th 1688, to *Feb.* 13 1689	4473	4	4
	Expence for the Coronation	2627	19	1
	Feb. the 13th 1689, to *Feb.* 13 1690	4206	1	8
	Feb. 13 1690, to *Feb.* 13 1691	4525	6	5 ½
	Feb. 13 1691, to *Feb.* 13 1692	4100	13	2
	Feb. 13 1692, to *Feb.* 13 1693	4369	7	5
	Feb. 13 1693, to *May* 5 1695	5545	18	2
E. of *Albemarle*.	*May* 5 1695, to *May* 4 1696	3513	7	9
	May 4 1696, to *May* 4 1697	5111	5	6
	May 4 1697, to *May* 4 1698	3120	19	5 ½
	May 4 1698, to *May* 4 1699	5733	10	2 ½
Her Grace the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*.	*March* 8 1701, to *Lady-day* 1703	3950	16	7
	Lady-day 1703, to *Lady-day* 1704	3156	3	8
	Lady-day 1704, to *Lady-day* 1706	4458	6	10

A Particular of Bills attested by the Right Honourable *Elizabeth*, Countess of *Derby*, Lady of her Majesty's Robes, and paid, *viz.*

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Aug. 21, 1689.	To *Sarah Browne*	7	10	0
Sept. 4.	To *Dan. Browne*	2103	10	0
16.	To *Jane Harrison*	27	14	0
	To *Stephen Hugueny*	15	0	0
Jan. 3.	To *Nath. James*	4	0	0
	To *Richard Brown*	13	10	0
4.	To Sir *Francis Childe*	1400	0	0
23.	To *Mary Bampton*	1697	14	9
	To *Stephen Hugueny*	9	0	0
	To *Richard Howse*	33	10	0
	To *Thomas Alkhorn*	479	17	6
	To *Robert Blake*	84	0	0
	To *Ellis Cryer*	13	19	6
	To *Gerrard Smale*	74	5	0
	To *Catharine Mulys*	34	7	6
	To *Matthew Reynolds*	100	0	0
	To *Mary Ferguson*	385	1	6
	To *Serena Cozens*	14	19	6
	To *Peter Lombard*	44	15	0
	To *Henry Robins*	40	17	2
	To *William Garraway*	62	7	0
	To *Edward Vickars*	7	13	2
	To *Francis Kinsman*	104	7	0
	To *Thomas Tompion*	213	18	6
	To *Eliz. Graydon*	90	14	8
	To *Henry Cope*	571	17	7
	To *Jane Harrison*	15	1	0
	To *Richard Beavoir*	2156	13	0
	To *Richard Cooper*	584	2	4
	Carried over	10390	5	8

			l.	s.	d.
		Brought over	10390	5	8
1689.		To *Philip La Sage*	32	15	0
		To *Solomon de Medina*	130	17	0
		To *Godfrey Poole*	6	16	6
		To *Gilbert Kirk*	86	5	3
		To *Eliz. Perrier*	122	0	0
		To *Thomas Morton*	1244	14	11
Jul. 17.	1690.	To *Sarah Brown*	30	0	0
		To *Mary Ferguſon*	148	0	0
		To *Marg. Wood*	6	0	0
	25.	To *Eliz. Worthington*	7	10	0
		To *Nicholas Alexander*	25	6	10
		To *James Chaſe*	5	0	0
		To *Aaron Dally*	134	13	6
Auguſt	25.	To *Mary Ferguſon*	104	17	6
	29.	To *Eliz. Worthington*	58	10	0
		To *Matth. Reynolds*	71	0	0
			12604	12	2

A Particular of Bills atteſted by the Counteſs of *Derby*, and paid, *viz.* 1690.

October	24.	To *Anne Dewhurſt*	13	16	0
Dec.	27.	To *Peter Haraſhe*	394	10	10
		To *Mary Devet*	102	14	6
Jan.	23.	To *Richard Beavoir*	2067	6	7
Mar.	23.	To the Counteſs of *Derby*	64	10	0
		To *William Tuer*	40	18	6
	24.	To *Edward Vickars*	23	6	8
		To *Mary Ferguſon*	160	0	0
1691.	26.	To *Sarah Browne*	20	0	0
	31.	To *Eliz. Worthington*	107	5	0
		To *Chriſtopher Spicer*	50	9	3
		To *Anne Dewhurſt*	13	0	0
		To *Stephen Hugueny*	15	0	0
		To Mr. *Corns*	17	4	0
		To Mr. *Schent*	112	0	0
		Carried over	3202	1	4

To

		over	3202	1	4
	To *John*		83	0	0
	To *Robert Blake*		92	15	0
	To *Robert Roads*		22	4	0
	To *Jos. Coles*		42	0	0
	To *Matth. Reynolds*		67	10	0
April 2.	To *Mary Ferguson*		389	6	6
21.	To *William Garraway*		13	19	0
	To *Gilb. Kirk*		120	5	0
June 28.	To *Eliz. du Perrier*		250	0	0
August 15.	To *Anne Vander Hoeven*		221	19	0
Septemb. 2.	To *Mary Ferguson*		89	0	0
	To *Sarah Browne*		30	0	0
October 6.	To Mr. *Tho. Morton*		248	0	0
	To *Thomas Alchorne*		1008	0	0
	To *John Prince*		203	11	0
	To *John Prince*		352	0	0
	To *Ditto*		296	6	0
	To *Godfrey Poole*		124	18	0
	To *Mary Bampton*		853	9	5
	To *George Hanbury*		157	6	10
	To *Ditto*		58	0	0
	To *Gerrard Smale*		137	12	0
	To *Jos. Coles*		25	10	0
	To *Tho. Cherret*		1,275	0	0
	To *Solomon Medina*		244	13	0
	To *Tho. Herbert*		172	10	0
	To *Richard Cooper*		692	0	0
	To *Ellen Becker*		149	6	0
	To *Stephen Hugueny*		15	18	0
	To *Matthew Talbot*		20	10	0
	To *Henry Senthouse*		69	15	0
	To *William Garraway*		106	14	0
	To *John Deacle*		90	0	0
	To *Henry Robins*		10	10	0
	To *Aaron Dally*		112	0	0
	To *Matthew Reynolds*		84	0	0
			11,131	9	1

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